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"Corruption, like Jealousy, is a Monster which makes the meat it feeds on."—SWIFT.

LORD MELVILLE.

SIR,——I enclose you the copy of what was actually the answer to a letter justifying Lord Melville in general terms.——I am, your humble servant, &c. &c.——A. B.

I have been favoured with your letter on the subject of the charges made against Lord Melville, and observe, that though you acknowledge that he has acted imprudently, you are of opinion that he is not grossly culpable. I have not the least doubt of your candour, nor is it any impeachment of that, to say you may have been led to take erroneous views, and to avoid the investigation of a disagreeable subject, from old habits of friendship. I think you cannot have considered the evidence, direct and presumptive, against his lordship, with your usual attention and discrimination, when you declare your conviction, *that he never had a corrupt idea or conception in the conduct of the Treasurership of the Navy.*—In the earlier period of his public career, I had opportunities of studying his character, and I think I knew it well. I was convinced that he possessed none of what is called public principle, or that which leads a man to act independently of selfish views. His objects were place and power, and his grand one, in those days, to have the management and patronage of Scotland; to attain which, he was ready to serve any minister, and to support every measure of government.——It were easy to exhibit a portrait of him as a private individual, a politician, and a statesman; but to you it is unnecessary, and it might be thought foreign to the present purpose; though I apprehend not, for charges such as occur here will be believed with more difficulty, when applied to a man of liberal education and refined sentiments, than to one who has not the least pretensions to either.——But with all his imperfections, he seemed to me totally regardless of money, and to be generous and profuse to a fault, as he was always in want, and thereby exposed to situations humiliating and degrading, if he had any feeling. I do not mean to impute to him any action dishonourable in private life. I never heard him accused of any thing of that kind.——Such was Mr. Dundas when I knew him. No man, I thought, had less of avarice and apacity in his composition; and, though of late years I have seen little of him, so strong was the impression made by my early acquaintance, that when the charge of his having participated in Trotter's peculations was broached, I maintained it could not be true. Though people who knew him better, told me that latterly he was much altered, I could scarcely conceive so total a change, as that the careless man I had been led to consider him, should have become capable of sharing in illegal and scandalous profits. But facts are stubborn, and inferences are sometimes irresistible; and, I cannot now resist the evidence, that though Lord Melville may not properly have been in partnership with Trotter, or had a specific share in the profits, yet he permitted Trotter to make those profits; he knew their extent, and he did not scruple to take and keep money which he was conscious came, and could only come, from that corrupt source.——In his speech to the House of Commons, Lord Melville *for the first time* disclaimed the knowledge of Trotter's having used the public money to the extent, and in the way he did. Till then, there was not a man in the House or out of it, friend or foe, who did not understand the fact to have been acknowledged, and accordingly, the resolution charging him with *connivance* had passed without a dissenting voice, after there had been inserted, in parenthesis, on the motion of Sir William Pulteney (whose accuracy was remarkable, and who certainly had no hostility to Lord Melville) these words after connivance, "*as acknowledged by his lordship.*"* His warmest advocates did not attempt to deny the connivance, though they maintained it was not to be stigmatized as corrupt. The fact was on all hands understood to be confessed, and if it had not, it is impossible to believe that he who saw Trotter living for many years at an expense infinitely beyond his salary, buying estates, and building a palace under his lordship's own eye, never inquired how he could afford it; and at the same time *lend* large sums of money to himself. It cannot be believed, that he supposed the small premium, which in the same speech, *for the first time*, he said, he imagined that Mr. Coutts might give for the money lodged in his hands, (a mere

* See Parl. Debates, vol. IV. p 321.

pretext and after-thought) could support all Trotter's extravagance. Lord Melville must have conceived that all was produced by a miracle, if he now speaks truth.——To a person of the disposition, and in the circumstances I have mentioned, the office of Treasurer of the Navy, as formerly administered, was most desirable and convenient, as it gave the command of money; which, I believe, he made little other use *of*, at first, than supplying his temporary necessities—a systematical traffic in money is foreign to his temper and habits. The reform in the conduct of the public offices introduced by Mr. Burke, could not be resisted, and Mr. Dundas assumed the merit of extending it to the Navy Office, consoled for the loss and inconveniency he was thereby to sustain *for a time*, by the increase of his salary. Mr. Trotter was appointed Paymaster, and a plan to counteract the intentions of the legislature was adopted, which I firmly believe was suggested by him, and as firmly that, in the outline at least, it was approved of by his patron. It has been solemnly asserted by Trotter and his friends, that there was no partnership between Lord Melville and him, no sharing of the profits made; and, I am inclined to give them credit that his lordship neither stipulated for, nor received a specific share. That he did not examine strictly into the detail of the business, or the amount of the profits, I can readily believe, but I have not the least doubt, that he saw an advantage to himself from the plan, and meant to share, *in his own way*, and actually did. Mr. Trotter became his bank of resource, and began the joint trade by relieving his principal from a pressing embarrassment. Perhaps Lord Melville, at first, only intended to take that temporary accommodation which he had been accustomed to before the act passed, but Trotter soon came to be able to afford large sums out of his profits, and they were given and taken without scruple. All this was perfectly in character.——The act of parliament against using the public money, in any shape, for private emolument, could be mistaken by none. It would have been bad in any one to transgress it, but for the man who made the law, and took merit from making it, to transgress it instantly, and go on for a course of years in systematical transgression, whether for his own emolument, or for that of his deputy, was dishonourable and inexcusable. Nor does the blame consist merely in transgressing the act. Lord Melville stood by and saw Trotter's salary subsequently augmented from five to eight hundred a year, upon the express condition that the augmentation was to be in lieu of all profits and emoluments whatsoever; and yet, at the moment, he was *confessedly* suffering Trotter to make profits, and the permission was continued. Of a person capable of such an act of duplicity every thing is credible.——I have stated my belief, that Lord Melville not only took large sums from Trotter, but that he *kept* them. There is not from the beginning to the end of the evidence such an assertion, either by him or Trotter, as that the money was repaid. An equivocal sentence which has been so interpreted by the charitable and the inattentive, no doubt occurs. "To be sure," says Trotter "the money was repaid, because it was part of the public money, and my account with the public was brought to a balance and cleared." True, but the profits and not the repayment by Lord Melville, enabled him to keep the account square.——The great difficulty when men are endeavouring to conceal the truth, fabricating a story, and accounting for various circumstances, is to preserve consistency. Lord Melville seems to me to have ruined his cause by what he said in the House of Commons, of his having applied certain sums received from Trotter, as well as the 10,000*l.* he confesses taking in Douglas's time, to public purposes not known to any of the ministers at the time; and which, consequently, cannot have been replaced out of any more appropriate fund: with the happiest propriety, Mr. Wilberforce termed this declaration, *the very infatuation of guilt*. It is possible to believe that money taken for his own use might have been repaid, but it is impossible to believe that he repaid what he had expended for any laudable public purpose, and if the purpose was not laudable, what is to be said for him. There was no such thing as this in Lord Melville's mind, when he wrote his last letter to the Commissioners; the strain of which is altogether inconsistent with the after-pretence. He had no idea, then, that Trotter would *blab* the story of the first 10,000*l.*—Trotter, however, let out the fact without consideration, and as it had come out it was necessary that something should be said. The tale stands thus: Lord Melville expended considerable sums of the public money for public purposes, and he afterwards replaced those sums out of his own pocket. Can any man believe this? And, yet it must be taken literally, or it is not true that the loans made by Trotter were *bonâ fide* repaid by his lordship, as some people say, though neither he himself nor Trotter have ever said so.——You are persuaded, you say, that the purposes for which the 10,000*l.* was applied

were proper and justifiable. If so, it is most wonderful that he should refuse to disclose them. I confess myself unable to figure any use to which a minister (allowing Mr. Dundas to have been at the time a minister, which he was not) is at liberty to apply money voted by parliament, for a particular purpose, except for that purpose singly. Say it was expended in charity; to improve the agriculture and commerce of the country; to repel foreign invasion; or to help a worthy friend to a seat in the House of Commons. I fancy, if the story has any foundation, the last comes nearest the truth; but take any of the cases you will, and still I deny it was justifiable. If it was, I may pick your pocket and plead the same sort of excuse.——But it seems to me, that when the first 10,000*l.* is spoke of as a detached sum, the real circumstances are lost sight of. During the time that Douglas held the office of Paymaster, the whole money was in the power of Mr. Dundas as Treasurer, and actually and legally used by him. Supposing that he did expend 10,000*l.* in the way you imagine, it was his own money at the moment, and he had a right to spend it as he pleased, provided he was sure of being able to replace it when wanted. That time came upon him when he was not prepared; and, the truth seems to me evident, that when he came to make up his account, and ought according to the act to have paid the whole balance to the Bank, he found himself 10,000*l.* deficient; and not being able to command that sum, he threw it on Trotter, as the price of his place; and what was a man who entered on an office of barely 500*l.* a year, advancing 10,000*l.* at the outset to do, but just what Trotter did, to bring up his *lee-way*. I have heard, that at one stage of the business, Trotter's friends acknowledged that they advanced this *deficit*, or engaged to make it good. If this is denied, then Lord Melville should explain when and how he paid the deficiency. It is clear that it must have been replaced immediately after the act took effect through the medium of Trotter, while his lordship seems to confess, if I can pretend to understand him, that he retained it, or remained the debtor for a considerable time at least. Indeed, I do not find him any where asserting or insinuating, that he ever replaced it, for it is remarkable, that while he acknowledges the receipt of different large sums, not characterised as loans, there is a total blank even in assertion, as to the time and mode of repayment. All that is said is, *they must have been repaid*; and, I have already alluded to the equivoque of this expression.——Thus through the whole of the business there are, on the one hand, facts warranting the strongest suspicion, and on the other, nothing but mere assertion attended by the highest improbability.——Independently of what precedes, the conduct of Lord Melville as well as of Mr. Trotter, since the investigation commenced, to me affords evidence the most satisfactory of his lordship's guilt. There cannot, I think, be a surer or fairer test than the conduct of the person accused. Innocence courts inquiry, and is ever bold and open. Guilt seldom fails to betray itself by shunning the trial, by concealment and prevarication. A guilty person, however artful, should if possible avoid speaking, and must not act in a way in which an innocent one never would have acted, otherwise the conclusion is unavoidable. I am not speaking of evidence sufficient, *per se*, for conviction on a legal trial, but of what must be convincing to private judgment.——If the facts were as Lord Melville now, after full time for preparation states, and there were no other in the case, why did he refuse explanation to the commissioners? He confessed that he had to a certain degree violated the law, because that was in proof otherwise. He confessed that he had permitted Mr. Trotter to make some use of the public money, and to derive some profit by it; because, if he had denied the fact absolutely, he was sure of being confuted by Trotter, who could not be willing to expose himself to exemplary punishment, by stating that he acted without the knowledge of his principal, while the books of Coutts and Sprott proved his use of the public money. But to the question, whether an advantage was derived to himself from the traffic of Trotter, Lord Melville refused to answer, sheltering himself under the clause of the act of parliament establishing the commission. He tacked to this a reason than which nothing could be more flimsy. Having received pecuniary accommodation from Trotter, and finding that in the fund, from whence it came, the public money and Trotter's private money had been blended, he pretended that he could not say whether the advantage he derived from the accommodation, was owing to Trotter's being possessed of the public money. But why did he not state this delicate scruple, this almost unintelligible wiredrawn distinction to the commissioners as his only reason. I say with confidence, that if what he says had been the truth, he would have answered the question explicitly thus: I made no advantage, unless my accepting accommodation from a man, who it now appears may have been,

enabled to give it by being possessed of the public money, can be called an advantage, though I was not aware at the time, that the accommodation came from that fund. Instead of this he chose to answer in a way which made the commissioners, and every one else suspect him of participation with Trotter. Again, why did he come out with his defence piecemeal, just as facts were extorted from Trotter, or blabbed by him? An honest, though mistaken man, would at once have made a clean breast. *So much I did, but no more.* By the time his lordship wrote his last letter to the commissioners, he had discovered that the reason he formerly assigned for not answering that question, did not apply to a particular period. He then asserted, and offered to swear, that he had made no advantage, in any sense, previously to Trotter's appointment. The story of the first 10,000*l.* then came out unexpectedly, and he was driven to the statement concerning it, which he made in the House of Commons.——Above all, if Lord Melville had participated with Trotter no farther than he acknowledges, and had not been sensible that he was at Trotter's mercy, would he have acted towards that man as he did? Would he have continued him in office after the discovery of his peculation? (Shall I be told, it was not Lord Melville who continued him?) Would he have lived in habits of daily intercourse with him, down to the day of the vote in the House of Commons, which compelled his dismissal? Will any man who has a regard for truth, or who paid the least attention to the circumstances, say he does not believe that if the vote had been other than what it was, Mr. Trotter would have continued Paymaster, and the agent and bosom friend of Lord Melville to the present hour? Will it be pretended that his lordship did not attend to the proceedings of the Commissioners which touched himself so nearly? When it was discovered that Trotter had used the public money to a vast amount in the purchase of stock, the discount of bills, &c. &c. what would have been Lord Melville's conduct, if he had till then been ignorant of these operations, or had never authorised them as he now asserts; or, if he had imagined till then, as he alleges, that Trotter only made use or derived some profit from the money appropriated for paying trifling demands, for which drafts on the Bank could not be given with propriety or convenience.* If his present assertion be true, it necessarily follows, that he discovered he had been grossly deceived by Trotter, whose conduct had been infamous, and exposed both the character and fortune of his principal to ruin. And yet Lord Melville did not resent this behaviour in any shape!——Mark the question repeatedly put to Trotter by the commissioners *after the discovery*. Did Lord Melville derive any advantage from the use which was then made of the public money? He refused to answer. He exculpated Mr. Tierney and the other treasurers, *after some hesitation*, when he had reflected on the consequence of throwing suspicion on innocent and honourable men; but he persisted to the last in refusing to speak as to Lord Melville. How would his lordship, if innocent, have acted on hearing this? Will it be said that he did not hear it? If he had put Trotter to death he could scarcely have been blamed; but he took all with the meekness of a primitive christian, he returned good for evil, and hugged the viper to his bosom.——What could induce Trotter thus to blast the character of his patron and benefactor? His own interest could no ways be served by implicating Lord Melville falsely. He must have been sensible, that by inducing a suspicion of his lordship without just ground, he was sealing his own ruin, as it could never be forgotten or forgiven. I defy charity, or simplicity, or idiocy, not to draw the conclusion, that he was instructed by Lord Melville to decline answering the question.——Then I say, that Trotter would at once have exculpated Lord Melville, if it had been in his power; and, if he had not, Lord Melville would have eagerly exculpated himself. His silence and refusal to answer, and Trotter's, are evidence (out of court) as satisfactory as the most explicit acknowledgment that Lord Melville did participate in the illegal profits.—I have heard it said, that Mr. Trotter has sworn that Lord Melville did not participate directly or indi-

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* Lord Melville's pretence for going against the statute, and his only excuse for allowing money to be lodged at Coutts's is equally flimsy and false. If the pretended inconvenience had really been felt, (which the practice shews it was not) the proper course, undoubtedly, was to have got the law amended. But, in fact, no small drafts were made on Mr. Coutts any more than on the Bank, nor would any banker or merchant of character have submitted to be the paymaster of such drafts. The act could not be so rigidly interpreted, as to prevent the drawing for small demands of the same description in the aggregate. There necessarily must be cash kept in the office to pay trifles, and there was as much while the traffic was going on at Coutts's as before.

rectly in those profits. I am ignorant whether the fact be so, but supposing it true, it would have no weight with me. I would deem it equivocal; for, though his lordship may not have taken money *eo nomine*, or as a share of profits, he took it knowing those alone enabled Trotter to give it; and, secondly, I know, and Mr. Trotter knows likewise, the difference between a judicial and an extra judicial affidavit. I will not believe what a man swears extra judicially, who refuses to speak when under a judicial examination.—The same person has certainly sworn *extra judicially*, that his income from every source does not exceed 1,150 l. a year. And, supposing that to be true, what is the inference? Extravagant as his style of living was, that alone cannot account for his having so little left. But who will believe, that he has reserved no more? I am informed, that he has been heard to regret the having made that affidavit, and to allow it was not perfectly correct.——I shall not dwell on the burning of the papers, and the terms of the mutual release, farther than to say, that those circumstances certainly afford grounds of suspicion. I doubt extremely, if, from the beginning of the world, two men ever sat down deliberately to destroy (not *vouchers*, but) *all papers*, *memorandums*, *accounts*, and *books* relative to large and complicated money transactions, unless they were conscious that their preservation might injure them. I do not believe that any conveyancer ever inserted such a covenant as appears in this release, without instructions or a hint from his employer; and, it can scarcely be doubted from whom the instructions or hint in this case came. The coincidence of the destroying the evidence and the commencement of the investigation, is also entitled to weight in the scale. If Lord Melville is *innocent*, (by which I always mean if he is not more guilty than he has yet acknowledged himself to be,) he is a most unfortunate man, and has acted with more imprudence than ever man probably did. Every step he or his friends have taken; every circumstance speaks against him.——On these grounds I believe him to have been guilty of gross corruption and malversation in office. He connived at Trotter's making profit by the use of the public money, against honour and against a clear law; and the presumption that he participated indirectly in those profits is extremely strong. But, I do not mean to say, there is yet legal evidence of any thing except what he has himself confessed. What he has confessed seems to me fully to warrant the punishment (as it is called) which he has already suffered. As to the rest let him have a fair trial, and if acquitted from want of legal evidence or otherwise, let him enjoy that acquittal. But no acquittal can efface the suspicion, that his guilt goes far beyond his confession. He can never regain the confidence of the public, or of any man of virtue and sound judgment. He has himself destroyed the only evidence which could possibly remove the suspicion; namely, the accounts with Trotter; and he must be charitable indeed, who thinks that those would have been destroyed, if they had borne testimony to Lord Melville's innocence.——You seem to think that the suspicion which would attach to such circumstances, or the conclusion we would draw from them in most cases, flies off when it is considered that Lord Melville has always been remarked by those who knew him and his affairs best, for carelessness, inattention, and inaccuracy; but, you must further prove that he was utterly regardless of his character, and of his place in the country, dependant in a great measure on character, before I can believe that he would have acted as he has done, if he had been conscious of innocence. I say again, it is not possible to account for his refusal to answer, and his countenancing Trotter after the nature and extent of the peculation were discovered, but on the supposition of his guilt, unless he be an absolute fool; which no man ever esteemed him.——It has been said that Trotter continuing on the scene, is a proof of Lord Melville's being convinced that the charge could not be substantiated by his evidence; but they were both perfectly confident to the last that the inquiry would be stifled.—But, supposing that his lordship's guilt in the matter of the Treasurership were doubtful, I ask in the name of all that is honourable and manly, what excuse can be offered for his asking and taking the Chamberlainship of Fife from the person and in the way he did; from Mr. Addington whom he was at the moment deriding, abusing, and undermining. He deceived the man he solicited as to the extent of the gift, for the sake of sweeping into his pocket 3,600l. of the public money, lying in the hands of the collector, ready to be paid into the Exchequer, under the colour of its being *rents in arrear*. There is not a doubt, that a gift from a private person, acquired in the same way might have been set aside as obtained by fraud. I may be told, that this has no connexion with the question, whether he participated in Trotter's gains;—but when an argument against the truth or probability of that charge, is attempted to be deduced from Lord Melville's alleged disregard of money,

and freedom from avarice, am not I entitled to state facts of his conduct, which can be ascribed to nothing but sordid avarice? Those who said to me that his lordship was much changed since the days I knew him, were in the right ——The only apology I have ever heard for his taking the Chamberlainship, and subsequently the pension of 1,500*l.* a year, is his *poverty*. Whether he is poor or not, and what his apologists call poverty I do not know. But, is a man enjoying 7 or 8,000*l.* a year of the public money, and every one of whose family and connexions is loaded with places and pensions, to be allowed to plead poverty, (which if true, must be occasioned by wild extravagance) as an excuse for rapacity and meanness? Where is such a plea to stop, or is one pension to be added to another, and the proper extent to be measured by the continuance of the extravagance they nourish? *Alieni appetens, sui profusus*, may perhaps with those apologists be a trait of a great and amiable character, or they may perhaps distinguish between private and public plunder. People who have nothing to do with places and pensions and grants of public money, except paying their share of them, will probably, consider the one to be as bad as the other, and when the story of the Chamberlainship and the pension is stated, I believe every man of sense and worth will conclude, that he who solicited and took those gifts, notwithstanding what he then enjoyed, must be tainted with the lowest avarice, and rapacious in the extreme; and that, therefore, there is no improbability in the charge of the same man having participated with Mr. Trotter.——I hope it will not be said, as I think it cannot be said with justice, that I have been prejudging Lord Melville's cause. I speak only on the evidence as it now stands. I have admitted that the grounds I principally go upon, are not direct *legal* evidence; and, I am far from thinking, that a judge or jury will or ought to give a verdict of guilty on the suspicions or conclusions arising from the conduct of the party accused, which weigh so strongly with me. I mean boldly to set myself in opposition to that prodigal effluvary, which maintained that there were not sufficient grounds for putting him on his trial; and to those who from weakness or an intention to screen the delinquent, argued that he had been already sufficiently punished.—I am, yours, &c. &c. *Sept.* 16th.

Discounts [illegible] BANKING [illegible] (442) [illegible]y and the dan-

ger of gratifying barbarous propensities, cannot admit of more striking illustration than what is afforded by considering the effects of these savage exhibitions on the manners and character of the Romans.——This is not the proper place to discuss the question, of right or expediency, which man has always claimed of rendering subservient to his wanton sports, the lives and feelings of the brute creation. It will come with more propriety under discussion in the sequel of these observations. But it may not be improper, at present, to animadvert on the consequences of rendering bloody scenes familiar and amusing to even an enlightened people.——The frequent spectacle of * animals conflicting with each other in the games of the amphitheatre, gradually hardened the public mind, and begat a necessity for diversions of a more animated and dangerous kind. Men were encouraged, and even compelled to enter the lists with wild beasts. At first, condemned criminals forfeited their lives in these contests. But these were not sufficiently numerous to gratify the appetite of a degraded and licentious people. Men † were professedly instructed and regularly hired to sell their blood, like gladiators, in these bestial contests. Such enormities, great as they are, hide their diminished heads, before the supreme wickedness and cruelty of gladiatorial exhibitions. When the susceptibility to humane and tender feelings became almost extinct by the bestial encounters, it became necessary to gratify their depraved appetites by the exhibition of human butchery and sacrifice. So lost to every spark of decency and humanity were this infatuated and ferocious people, that the highest ranks of society gloried in voluntarily taking a part in these encounters: and even the softer sex, throwing aside every trait of amiable modesty and timidity, were ambitious of displaying their personal courage in these savage contests. This conduct

* In the shew of wild beasts exhibited by Julius Cæsar in his third Consulship, twenty elephants were opposed to 500 footmen, and 20 more with turrets on their backs (sixty men being allowed to each turret) engaged with 600 foot, and as many horse. There were three sorts of these diversions, under the common title of Venation. The first, when the people were permitted to run after the beasts and catch what they could for their own use; the second, when the beasts fought with one another; and the third, when they were brought out to engage with men. See Kennet's Roman Antiquities.

† These were called Bestiarii.

did not escape the lash of the Roman satyrist.

" Cum ——— Mævia Tuscum,"
" Figat aprum, et nuda teneat venabula " mamma."
" Or, when with naked breast the mannish " whore,
" Shakes the broad spear against the Tuscan " boar."

Persons of every age, sex, and condition attended these barbarous sports. The intoxication of the populace, from frequent gratification, arose to such a pitch, that streams of blood flowed annually from several hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the wretched gladiators, throughout the various cities of the empire. When the people had been so far steeped in blood as to prefer beyond any other these sanguinary combats, all the candidates for high offices bribed their favour, by outvying each * other in the number and pomp of these impious shews. Even the most powerful and enlightened minds among the Romans were tainted by the contagious influence of custom and the strength of national prejudice: Cicero, the humane and dignified statesman and philosopher, very faintly, if at all, disapproves of the excessive fondness of the people for this abominable exhibition in his time; and plainly expresses his approbation of the practice as antiently conducted. His words are, " crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum nonnullis videri solet; et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit: cum vero sontes ferro depugnabant, auribus fortasse multæ, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina." " The shews of gladiators to some persons may seem barbarous and inhuman: and I don't know as the case now stands that the censure is unjust: But when only guilty persons were the combatants, the ear might receive better instruction—it is impossible, however, that any lesson to the eye can better fortify the mind against the assaults of grief and death." A ridiculous and inhuman assertion (an eloquent historian exclaims) admirably confuted by the bravery of ancient Greece and modern Europe.——Indeed so little was the practice connected with military ardour and true courage, that before its establishment the Romans were, perhaps, more distinguished for bravery, steadiness of discipline, and contempt of death, than at any subsequent period of their history.——It is, however, certain, that in proportion to the frequency and extent of these bloody exhibitions, did the military valour and discipline of the Romans sink into a state of degradation and contempt.—" After subsisting a period of 600 years" (according to the remark of Gibbon), " Honorius gave the final blow to this inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals."—Rome justly suffered moral and political evils from fostering such inhuman propensities: her existence was more than once at stake by the insurrection of the wretched and despairing victims of her barbarity. Besides, the corruption of the populace, through the medium of these diversions, was no difficult task to the powerful and wealthy. When man has been taught to subdue the humane feelings of his nature, he contracts an indifference to the purer and nobler virtues which fit him for discharging the duties of a good citizen. Indeed every habit that wears out the sympathizing sensibility of the heart, proportionably disqualifies man from exercising the pleasing duties and tender charities, connected with public and domestic life.—It would appear from this hasty sketch that the popular games and exercises of the Greeks, when compared with those of the Romans, were better calculated to promote the social as well as individual welfare of mankind. The Grecian sports fortified the body and disciplined the mind, without injuring the one or brutalizing the other.—Indeed the superior wisdom of Grecian policy rendered the public diversions subservient to the interests of the state as well as to the happiness of the people. The Roman government did not always neglect this branch of policy. For, their sports, in the early and rude state of the nation, were adapted to the circumstances in which the people were placed. But incessantly harassed themselves, or employed in harassing others, they had neither leisure nor inclination to cultivate those arts which contribute to liberal amusement: ever occupied with warfare, all their amusements had a warlike tendency. The contests of savage animals and the conflicts of gladiators, suited alike the ferocious manners of the populace and the political views of their rulers. When the empire had subdued more polished nations, it might have

* Julius Cæsar, in his edileship, presented three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators; and Trajan, as averse from cruelty as the former, brought out 1000 pair of gladiators, during a solemnity of 123 days. But the sanguinary Nero, enlisted 400 senators and 600 knights (if there be not a corruption of the text of Suetonius, the historian) as gladiators, at a celebration of the Circensian games. See Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

been expected, that its amusements would have assumed a different spirit and complexion. But the habits of the people were too deeply rooted and depraved to be easily changed; and, indeed, so far were their rulers from wishing to accomplish this reformation, that from corrupt and selfish views, they studiously excited the propensities of the people towards degrading and inhuman shews, by administering constant food for these savage enjoyments. In the progress of civilization, since the downfal of the Roman empire, great and important changes have taken place in Europe, with respect to religious, political, and civil institutions. The melioration of the condition of man in his social and domestic state, and the general refinement of his character and manners, have been the happy result of these moral and political revolutions. Yet still there remain sufficient vestiges of antient barbarity to throw a dark shade on the present state of improved civilization. The cruel sports still so highly relished in many parts of modern Europe, and which bear so near a resemblance to the savage contests of the Circus, exhibit lasting and disgraceful proofs of the relics of antient barbarism. Our own country has been but too justly stigmatized, even by her less polished neighbours, for the devotion of the lower ranks of the people to those amusements which are derived from the sufferings of the brute creation.——Although the resemblance (whether it be original or imitative is of little importance) between the cruel diversions of England and of Rome, may be considered a subject of just regret; yet the similarity in some of the manly exercises and hardy sports, practised by the two nations, cannot but claim our warm and just admiration.—If we have retained more of the barbarous sports of antiquity than the rest of Europe, there is the merit due to us of having more extensively adopted and practised those amusements and exercises, which inure the body to labour and fatigue, and inspire the mind with courage and emulation. In treating on the general character and spirit of some of the sports and exercises of the people of England, it will not be necessary to enter into particular detail. It is only proposed to hint at those of a popular nature, and which seem to be interwoven with the customs and manners of the mass of the people. They may be comprised under two heads. 1st. The sports which are derived from the animal creation. 2d. The amusements which depend upon bodily exercises and personal contests.——1. It cannot be denied, that mankind, at every period of society and under every diversity of country and government, have rendered the animal race subservient to their wanton and cruel sports. But the universality and antiquity of a practice, founded on inhumanity and impolicy, are inadequate to sanction its utility and continuance. If it can be shewn that barbarous sports tend to brutalize the human character, and are inconsistent with the manifest intentions of Providence; the argument derived from long custom and authority must fall to the ground. There is a sympathy implanted in our natures, which renders us feelingly alive to the pains and pleasures of our fellow-creatures, and is even extended to every part of the animal creation. Upon the due exercise of this principle depends great part of our social and individual happiness. Whatever then has a tendency to diminish the influence of this principle, ought carefully to be avoided. Now every single act of cruelty contributes its share towards the weakening or extinguishing the principle of sympathy; and by the repetition of such acts, according to the general laws of habit, * a disposition to cruelty is likely to be generated. If a child be early indulged in sportively tormenting animals, and this vicious propensity be suffered to grow up into a habit, his sensibility to human suffering will be proportionably diminished; insensibility will harden into brutality; and at length he will not be restrained from positive acts of cruelty towards his own species, whenever goaded by the feelings of interest or of passion. Hogarth, our great moral painter, has admirably illustrated the progress of cruelty in the human breast. The first stage of his Hero's career is marked by sportive and wanton barbarity to animals. Upon this foundation crimes are soon erected; and at length grown callous to every social † and moral

* "The habitude which the people of this country (viz. Cape of Good Hope) necessarily acquire in witnessing instances of cruelty on human as well as brute creatures, cannot fail to produce a tendency to hardness of heart, and to stifle feelings of tenderness and benevolence. In fact, the rigour of justice is seldom softened with the balm of mercy." See Barrow's Travels in Africa, Vol. 2. p. 41.

† Such is the general impression on the mind of the power of habit to generate cruelty, that in most countries, those occupations which employ men in the destruction of animal life for the sustenance of human kind, are held in degradation and contempt. The lowest of the butchering tribe, in default of an executioner, is compelled to

feeling, he closes his profligate career, by the perpetration of a deliberate and cruel murder. Another excellent judge of the human heart, Dr. Moore, has forcibly depicted the effects of wanton cruelty to the inferior creation, in the character of Zeluco. The feelings of humanity became stifled in this monster's breast, from an early gratification of his caprice and passion in sporting with the torments of the animal race. It is likewise our duty as well as moral advantage, to refrain from all acts of wanton cruelty to the brute creation. The organs of sensation in all the inferior animals, are evidently adapted for receiving and transmitting impressions of pain and pleasure; and although deprived of speech, their groans and cries are intelligible indications of their painful feelings. Nor are animals less capable of expressing signs of pleasure as well as of suffering. This provision for the gratification of their several senses, is a sufficient proof of the intentions of the Creator. Like man, they were formed to feel and to enjoy. Here rests the foundation of their natural right to protection and humane treatment from mankind. ——It cannot be inferred from this mode of reasoning, that animal life should in every instance be held sacred. The laws of nature and necessity demand from us the painful sacrifice. Man must destroy life in order to live. Besides, we must consider that if man had subsisted only on vegetable food, the majority of the animal race which furnish his table would never have enjoyed life. Instead of increasing the breed of animals, he would have been compelled to destroy them to prevent a famine. But barbarously, wantonly, and deliberately, to torture and destroy animal life, is equally repugnant to humanity, duty, and the best interests of mankind. Experience teaches us, that the common sense and feeling of mankind, condemn that man whose greatest delight seems to consist in bloody and barbarous sports.—

perform his functions in France and many other parts of the continent. There is an opinion prevailing in England, that butchers, and even surgeons, are equally disqualified, by the nature of their occupations, to sit upon juries, in trials affecting the lives of their fellow-subjects. This is probably a popular error; or, if true, yet a much more honourable reason may be assigned, why surgeons are not required to act in the capacity of jurors. Their office is to administer to the sufferings and calamities of their fellow creatures; and it is fit they should every moment be disengaged and free to obey the summons to so humane a duty.

Youth, it must be observed, commonly inflict pain on animals in mere sport, without a due knowledge of the evil they commit. And the ignorant populace frequently err from the same cause. They are led to consider, but too often, from the connivance and even encouragement of their superiors in knowledge and station, that the animal race are equally indifferent to pleasure or pain; and only created for the purpose of gratifying the appetite, or contributing to the diversion of mankind.——If the question be asked, "whether all sports derived from animal suffering be entitled to equal condemnation?" The answer is decidedly in the negative. For, although perhaps none can be completely justified, yet there is still a wide difference in the degree of moral and physical evil resulting from their practice. That class of diversions pursued for the benefit of health and exercise, where the enjoyment of pleasure springs from the exertion of our active faculties, must not be compared with those depraved and cruel sports, which merely consist in the torture and destruction of the animal. In the present state of society, active diversions become almost necessary to the well being of the opulent and sedentary classes of mankind. Man cannot be happy without occasional active employment. He pines in the lap of ease and pleasure, and requires the stimulus of animated exertion. Hunting in all stages of society, has therefore formed a principal share of the business and pleasure of man. But in this kingdom especially, a considerable portion of its inhabitants devote part of their time to the active and vigorous pursuits of the chace. And although it may be urged in favour of this exercise, that it invigorates the spirits, teaches men to despise enervating pleasure, and inures them patiently to sustain hunger, cold, and fatigue; yet it cannot be denied, that it has a tendency, when too eagerly pursued, to blunt the sensibility, to render the manners rude and coarse, and thus to degrade the dignity of the human character. The man of enlarged understanding, liberal notions, and elegant manners, may occasionally call in the aid of the chace to relieve the fatigue of sedentary employment, or renovate the powers of nature, exhausted by mental exertion, without much apparent injury to his manners or morals; but frequently to take pleasure in that, by which misery to animals is inflicted, if not absolutely vicious, is yet of no good tendency; it conduces neither to form the gentleman nor the man. If it be considered as too nice and fastidious a delicacy to impute blame to the practice of destroying animals

for the purpose of health, exercise, and recreation, it may, however, be allowed to call in question the policy and humanity of other diversions, once highly cherished, and still too much practised by the people of this country. Some of these national sports are sanctioned by the practice and encouragement of many persons distinguished for rank and talents. That there should be found such abettors of the bloody and barbarous diversions of cock-fighting and bull-baiting, is both a subject for surprise and regret. These two amusements seem to have survived the destruction of many other sports equally as unmeaning and barbarous; but that they should not have entirely yielded to the improved state of manners—or the interference of the laws, is a subject of just reproach to us by foreigners, and of deserved reprobation by the humane and reflecting of our own countrymen. The reciprocal influence of sports and manners on each other, may be shewn from these and similar diversions, as practised in various periods of our history. A late ingenious and laborious writer * has described the ancient and modern diversions of the people of Great Britain, from the earliest authentic records to the present time. This picture confirms the general truth of the position: that as a nation improves in manners and civilization, it loses its high relish for inhuman and ferocious diversions. It is more than probable, that the sports derived from animal contests, such as bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and cock-fighting, are vestiges of Roman amusements introduced by that people into this conquered island. It is at least certain they were practised † in the early period of our history. During the military enthusiasm of the middle ages, while jousts and tournaments furnished amusement to the nobility and gentry, martial exercises constituted the chief diversions of the body of the people. Hence arose the establishment of schools for teaching the "noble science of defence," as it was called. These laid the foundation for professed gladiators, or prize-fighters. The great prevalence of murder, robbing, and every species of barbarity, in consequence of these proceedings, during the reign of Edward the First, compelled the government to issue an edict to suppress the schools as well as the combats of prize-fighters.——During the reign of Henry the Seventh and Henry Eighth, these schools were revived in consequence of a supposed degeneracy in the military spirit of the people; and the baiting of animals at the same time became a favourite * diversion.—The Bear-garden, † during the 16th and the early part of the 17th century, was the place of rendezvous for the highest as well as the lowest classes of society. The Tatler, when treating on the barbarous sports of this national circus, and the comments of foreigners on the subject,

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* See Strutt's Diversions and Pastimes of the People of England.

† The Jongleurs or Jugglers, in the reign of Henry the 2d made a profession of training bulls, bears, and even horses, for the purpose of baiting them with dogs. The sport of fighting cocks in pitched battles, first appears on record in the same reign. During subsequent reigns this sport became general; and, to the disgrace of our country, was countenanced by royal favour during James the 1st and Charles the 2d's reign. If the Romans set us the example in devising these sports, it must be confessed, we have "bettered the instruction." For to English refinement and ingenuity may be ascribed the noble invention of the Gaffle or Spur; by the aid of which, the gallant combatants of the cockpit mangle, torture, and destroy each other; no doubt to the great satisfaction and delight of admiring spectators. Another instance of our barbarous ingenuity must not be omitted. No other nation but the British has contrived to put in practice the Battle-Royal, and the Welsh-Main. In the former, the spectator may be gratified with the display of numbers of game-cocks, destroying each other at the same moment without order or distinction. In the latter, these courageous birds are doomed to destruction in a more regular, but not less certain manner. They fight in pairs, (suppose 16 in number) and the two last survivors are then matched against each other; so that out of 32 birds, 31 must be necessarily slaughtered. See Pegge's Essay in the Archæologia Britannica.

* Stephen Gossen, in the latter end of Henry 8th's reign, considers that our ancestors had entirely sunk into the lap of effeminacy, as may be proved by the following singularly quaint and alliterative style of abuse. "Our wrestling at arms is turned into wallowing in ladies' laps: our courage to cowardice; our running to riot; our bows, into bowls; and our darts into dishes."

† Another common diversion, during the period of Queen Elizabeth and in the two following reigns, consisted in several persons at the same time scourging with whips a blind-folded bear round the ring, whose sufferings and awkward attempts at revenge highly gratified the noble, as well as ignoble spectators.

aids, "I wish I knew how to answer the reproaches which are cast upon us, and to excuse the death of so many innocent cocks, dogs, bulls, and bears, as have been set together by the ears, and died an untimely death only to create us sport." Bull-baiting was not confined within the limits of a bear-garden, but was universally practised, on various occasions, in all the towns and villages throughout the kingdom. In many places the practice was sanctioned by law, and the bull-rings affixed to large stones driven into the earth remain to this day, as memorials of this legalized species of barbarity. The regular system of bull-baiting seems to have commenced with the reign of King John. Its general prevalence since that period, until within a few years, must have produced important effects on the manners and character of the people. The misery it has inflicted on the harmless and inoffensive brute, is a matter of no small regret and indignation with the humane and considerate part of mankind; but the injury done to public morals and social happiness, by an attachment to this degrading pastime is still more to be deplored. Numbers of bulls were, and still continue to be, regularly trained and carried about from village to village, to enter the lists against dogs bred up for the purpose of the combat. To detail all the barbarities committed in these encounters would be a disgusting and tedious task. All the bad passions which spring up in ignorant and depraved minds are here set afloat. The torments and blood of the suffering beast are purchased by money of his unfeeling master; and the owners of the dogs are not more gratified in gaining their sanguinary wagers, than in applauding the savage ferocity displayed by these animals. We cannot often appeal to the annals of bull-baiting; but if they were regularly laid open, it is probable that many instances of a similar kind to the following might be held up as a lesson to the abettors of such diversions. * "Some years ago at a bull-baiting in the North, a young man, confident of the courage of his dog, laid some trifling wager, that he would at separate times cut off all the four feet of his dog, and that after every amputation he would attack the bull. The cruel experiment was tried, and with success." Such detestable barbarity can only be exceeded by the following recital extracted from the public prints of 1799. At a bull-baiting in Staffordshire, after the animal had been baited by single dogs, he was attacked by numbers let loose at once upon him. Having escaped from his tormentors, they again fastened him to the ring; and with a view, either of gratifying their savage revenge, or of better securing their victim, they actually cut off his hoofs, and enjoyed the spectacle of his being worried to death on his bloody and mangled stumps. These facts speak more than a volume against the sophistic arguments of the advocates for exciting brave and manly courage by the exhibition of bloody and barbarous sports.—Although persons of rank and education, at the present period, have abandoned bear and bull-baiting to the lowest and most despicable part of the populace; and even amongst them these sports are much less frequent than formerly; yet the practice meets with countenance in some parts of the kingdom, and has been supported not long since, in one of the first assemblies of this nation, extolled by men of rank and abilities, as encouraging harmless amusement, manly spirit, and contempt of danger.—These opinions appear to be so much at variance with the present enlightened, liberal, and humane state of society, that to hear they have been defended by serious arguments and with persevering ardor, is sufficient to excite both regret and astonishment. Cruelty in every shape is unjustifiable; but wanton, deliberate barbarity is dishonourable to our nature, and contrary to the principles of natural religion, honour, justice, and humanity. Of all the cruel sports, bull-baiting, as generally practised, is, perhaps, the least defensible. It is not only a cruel, but a foolish and detestable diversion. That the spectacle of two animals endowed with courage, strength, and activity, exerting their antipathies to each other's destruction, upon fair and equal terms, should excite our curiosity and animate our feelings, is reconcileable to the constitution and nature of man; but that any human being should delight in beholding a noble and useful animal tied to a stake, and deprived in a great measure of the means of offence and defence, and then worried and tormented by dogs and men, is a sport so insipid, so unsportsman-like *, and so cruel, as to excite

* See Bewick's Quadrupeds. Article Dog.

* Throwing at cocks is another specimen of unmeaning brutality confined solely to our own country. After being familiarised to the barbarous destruction of this courageous bird in the cock-pit, it was only advancing one step further in the progress of cruelty, to fasten this most gallant animal to a stake, in order to murder him piece-meal. —This detestable barbarity has declined as our manners have become more polished and humane; but the strong hand of the law was obliged to interfere in many places

wonder as well as detestation. But the advocates of these and similar cruel diversions, exclaim in a tone of triumphant interrogation. "Do not these sports inspire manly courage and contempt of danger?" Certainly not. They are only calculated to generate cruelty and a thirst for blood. They may, indeed, inspire ferocity and insensibility to danger, but they are unfit to impart genuine and manly fortitude.——The Romans indulged, as before remarked, in these savage diversions to a greater extent than any other nation of antiquity; yet they did not excel the Greeks, nor have surpassed the moderns, in the display of military ardour and true courage.—It is a superficial and unphilosophical view of the subject, to consider the barbarous sports of Rome contributing to the establishment of her power and military fame. These spectacles never became common till after Hannibal's defeat; and that the Romans, subsequent to this period improved in valour and hardihood, is not recorded in the pages of their history. But may we not, with just pride, appeal to facts furnished by our own age and country? Has the valour, enterprise, or intrepidity of British soldiers and sailors shone less conspicuous, since the period that bull-baiting and other barbarous sports have declined, throughout most parts of the kingdom? The answer is recorded in the history of our late naval and military transactions.—The conduct of the Spaniards and Portuguese, when contrasted with that of our own countrymen, is a striking proof of the incompetency of savage and cruel amusements to create a courageous and warlike disposition. Bull-fights still constitute the only active popular amusement of the two countries. If these bloody sports were capable of inspiring active courage and manly fortitude, how are we to account for the acknowledged degeneracy of the people of Spain and Portugal in these warlike qualities?—The advocates for bull-baiting and similar sports, have recourse to another argument, or rather assertion, which they urge with great confidence: "cruel sports," they contend, "do not necessarily generate cruelty in a people." "The English, (say they) who are fond of these diversions, are, at the same time, less ferocious, and indeed hold the shedding of human blood more in abhorrence than any other nation on the face of the globe." Granted, that we really deserve this honourable distinction: does it follow that human nature is differently constituted in England to what it is in other parts of the world? Can it be necessary to prove, that habits of indifference to human suffering are acquired by repeated acts of cruelty to brutes; and that the sympathy of our natures must be blunted in proportion to our familiarity with scenes of unnecessary and wanton barbarity? These are almost self-evident suppositions; at least they are such inductions from daily and repeated experience, as to pass current for intuitive truths. But if we admit that the English are more addicted to cruel sports, and yet hold human life more sacred than the people of other countries, it by no means follows, that such sports have not a tendency to create a disposition to cruelty. How then are we to reconcile this apparent contradiction? The paradox, if there really be any, is not difficult of solution.—The life of man is always most respected, where it is of most consequence. For, in a country like Britain, where the whole body of the people enjoy political and civil rights, their own importance, and that of their fellow-citizens will be felt and esteemed; and where just and equal laws protect the life and property of the meanest of the people, and consequently private injuries can be redressed by an appeal to the tribunals of justice, man will be less disposed to be the avenger of his own wrongs. Besides, ignorance is commonly the parent of cruelty. Now it may be safely asserted, that the knowledge of man's duties both towards his neighbour and his Creator, are better understood and more widely diffused amongst the mass of the people in this kingdom, than in those otherwise civilized countries, where a thirst for the blood of their fellow-creatures seems chiefly to prevail. These eminent moral and political advantages are the powerful counteracting causes of that spirit of barbarism which cruel diversions are calculated to excite. If it be desirable then to efface the harsh lineaments of rudeness, and a want of feeling nearly allied to brutality, which still mar the otherwise fair visage of the national character, let all barbarous diversions be entirely abolished; but especially let the sport of bull-baiting be the first offering to be sacrificed at the shrines of humanity and justice!

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to hasten its abolition. The cruel treatment of the animal race might well lead an ingenious † foreigner to remark, when describing our popular diversion, as follows. "The women of Rome beheld barbarities and murders in cold blood; but the boxing-matches, the bull-baitings, cock-fightings, and the numerous attendance of both sexes at public executions, indicate that there is at least a remnant of Roman manners, and the taste of those times, left in England."

† Wenderborn, on the character and manners of the people of Great Britain."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MELVILLE.——In verification of the truth of the remark contained in my motto, many of the circumstances connected with the endeavours to support Lord Melville, and finally to defeat the ends of justice, might be pointed out; and, however mortifying it may be, to reflect that one is made to contribute towards the means of screening those, by whose peculations one has already suffered, yet, it is almost impossible not to perceive, that such contribution does, in fact, take place. The numerous paragraphs, and, indeed, columns, that have appeared in the London news-papers, in support of Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, have not, the reader may be assured, found their way into print at the expense of either the proprietors of those papers, or of the persons communicating such writings to the editors. Corruption, in short, begets corruption, maggot engenders maggot, in the body politic, when rotten, just as in the animal body.——It was, sometime ago, observed, in the Political Register, that the partizans of Lord Melville, all those who had tasted of the wages of corruption and all those who wished so to taste (a class by no means contemptible as to numbers) would, during the prorogation of parliament, be constantly at work, in all possible ways, to deceive the people, to assuage their resentment, to efface all the impressions made upon the public mind by the discoveries of the Naval Commissioners. The readers of the Register were cautioned against the tendency of these efforts, and, they will, doubtless, have, for weeks past, perceived, that the caution was not unnecessary or ill-timed.——The first attempt, of the sort we have now been speaking of, through the means of the press, was a pamphlet, entitled a "SPEECH OF LORD MELVILLE, delivered in the House of Commons, &c. &c." Assuredly, he had a right to publish his speech; but, then, it follows, as a matter of course, that every one has a right to comment upon it, and to *publish* those comments; for, we can never allow a man to claim a right to publish what he pleases in his justification, while the matter against him is pending, and, at the same time, to prevent others from publishing an answer thereunto. The next publication that made its appearance, was entitled, "*An Exposure of the* PERSECUTION *of Lord Melville: in a Letter to an intimate Acquaintance.* Printed for J. Hatchard, BOOKSELLER TO HER MAJESTY." This is, as will be seen hereafter, a most wretched production; but, the *Advertisement* of such a title was no contemptible means of misrepresentation; and, the reader may be assured, that the giving of the appearance of *Royal sanction* to the pamphlet, or rather to the application of the word *persecution*, was not without design. It is probable that fifty pounds have been employed in presenting this advertisement to the eyes of the people, and thus spreading amongst them the idea of Lord Melville, who is now actually in the the receipt of about eight thousand pounds a year of their money, being a hard-used, a cruelly-treated man.——While these, and some other, publications were making in London, the *gude* friends of the poor, innocent, harmless man were not idle at Edingburgh, where, in a news-paper entitled the Edingburgh Advertiser, the following paragraph appeared on the 30th of August. "This day the Lord Provost, Magistrates, "and Council are to give a grand dinner at "Fortune's Tavern, to the Right Honour-"able Lord Viscount Melville, His Excel-"lency the Commander in Chief" [Earl of Moira], "and a number of other persons "of distinction." This some persons, in England, would have taken for a joke, had they not been informed by their Scots friends, that the Edingburgh news-papers do not joke, when the ministry, or any part thereof are concerned. Yet, that a man impeached, actually impeached, for high crimes and misdemeanors, should be publicly entertained by the corporation of the first city in Scotland! That a man so circumstanced should partake of such an entertainment! It did, at first sight, seem incredible, and especially did it so seem, that the corporation should place the names of Moira and Melville in the order, in which they stood in the paragraph. But, to those who had witnessed the impudence exhibited in London, during the winter; those who had witnessed the operations of the BRAZEN system; who had, at the very times and in the very places where some degree of shame might have been expected, from even the most profligate and hardened, beheld confidence the most undaunted, assurance the most inflexible, effrontery the most disgusting, that ever was seen or heard of amongst the most abandoned of mankind; those who had witnessed these scenes would rather be stricken with the modesty of the corporation of Edingburgh, and would, by no means, be inclined to doubt of the reality of the intended entertainment.——The entertainment took place, and the following paragraph, taken from the same news-paper of the 3d of September, will inform the reader who were the noblemen and gentlemen

to partake in the honour of dining with Lord Melville; and, "I am persuaded, that he will not be surprised, that Lord Moira was *not* found amongst them. "On Friday, "the Lord Provost and Magistrates gave an "elegant entertainment at Fortune's to Lord "Viscount Melville, and a number of no- "blemen and gentlemen, among whom "were the Duke of Buccleugh, Earl of "Hopetoun, Earl of Haddington, Lord "Napier, Lord James Murray, Sir John "Steuart, Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Advo- "cate, the Members for the County and "City, the Secretary at War, the She- "riff of the County, &c. &c."——The reader need not be told, that the "Secretary at War" is Mr. *William Dundas*; and, it is hardly necessary to observe, that amongst the "Members of the County and City," is Mr. *Robert Dundas*. The Lord Justice Clerk, the Lord Advocate, and Lord Hopetoun, are also relations; and, as to the rest of the goodly company, their motives for attending are evident enough. The sequel of this dinner is not less amusing than its history is instructive. It was, it is confidently said, intended to try the temper of the people, and, if it succeeded, to be followed up by the other corporations through the country, in a tour proposed to be made by the hero of the entertainment. It was meant to invite *sixty* noblemen and gentlemen; but, upon Lord Moira publicly declaring his disapprobation, the number was limited to *forty*, of whom only *twenty-one* attended, and, the majority of these were relations of Lord Melville, persons who, for the most part, were, in some way or other, living upon incomes received from taxes raised upon the people. His lordship was, or affected to be, in great spirits; but, he attempted in vain to inspire the company with gaiety.—— The representatives of the City of Edinburgh (the *Town Council*, electors of the members of parliament) are only thirty-three, all of them *acquainted* with Lord Melville in a way which the reader will easily conceive. Amongst them, however, there are some persons in a state of life too low to be invited upon an occasion, where undiminished respectability and grandeur were to appear. These persons took offence. At the next meeting of the *Council*, they spoke of the recent dinner as an improper *waste of the public money*, a complaint that looked more than one way; but, they were, it is said, silenced by a patriotic declaration of the Lord Provost (the Chief Magistrate, a worthy *Grocer*, lately created a *Baronet*), that he meant to pay the bill out of his private pocket.——The detail of these circumstances will convince the reader, that the scheme completely failed; and, that Lord Melville feels, that Scotland is not, with respect to him, what it used to be. On account of this discovery it is, that you hear, in all the Pitt and Melville newspapers, such loud and incessant cries against the "*ingratitude*," as they call it, of those who owe their rise in the world to Lord Melville. Just as if the salaries attached to the places, which he gave, were paid out of his own private purse! Just as if all the pensions, all the grants, all the contracts, in which he was concerned, were defrayed out of his own property! Never was so unjust, so degrading, so abominable a principle. To hold such a principle is to acknowledge the minister of the day for your absolute master; and, it would be worth while to ask Mr. Canning for a full explanation of what he meant, when he said, that he wished anxiously for an administration upon a different scale, but that, when called upon to take part with his right honourable friend, he should hold himself to be the most "*ungrateful*" of mankind, if he refused to join him. It is necessary to explain the meaning of this; for, reason seems to say, that if a man receives favours at *the expense of the public*, it is to the public that his gratitude is chiefly due. Indeed, the conferring of favours, at the public expense, in order thereby to answer purposes of private interest, of whatever sort, whether in the way of emolument, honour, power, or friendship, is entitled to a name, which has so often been applied to the acts that have chiefly distinguished the political life of a certain courtier, who has recently given such indisputable proofs of his affinity to the *Spaniel* race.——The Scots will not, however, be much influenced by the cry above-mentioned. "They have been en- "riched and exalted by Mr. Dundas." *Some* of them have. But, allowing that all Scotland has. Is not Scotland compelled to own the Dundases? "The English "have not had their due share of the "honours and emoluments passing through "the hands of Mr. Dundas." It may be so. But, the Dundases are *not Englishmen*. And, is that *nothing!* The truth is, that the Scots, taken as *a nation*, have been losers by the enormous patronage and influence of Mr. Dundas, now Lord Melville. That patronage and influence have, indeed, enriched hundreds and thousands of Scotsmen; and, though they have, in one department or two changed hands as to their immediate operation, they are still at

work in nearly the same way; but, they have not enriched *Scotland*; they have produced no good, and have tended to produce no good, to Scotland. On the contrary, they have directly tended to injure her; to humble, to subdue, to enslave, the people, by rendering the leading men of the country the mere dependents of the minister. This patronage and influence have done more, perhaps, than even the funding system to break down the aristocracy of Scotland. Indeed, they have charmingly co-operated with that system: the system has been constantly working the wealth out of the hands of the ancient nobility, it has been constantly reducing them, one after another, to poverty, and the patronage and influence have constantly stood ready to take advantage of the dispositions which poverty seldom fails to produce. The Scots, therefore, considered as a nation, have nothing to regret at the disclosures relating to the conduct of the Pitts and Dundases. Scotland will not have less of the public patronage than she had before; but, that which was enjoyed by one family, by one set, will now be enjoyed by the Scots nation at large.——Amongst the publications which have, since the end of the session of parliament, appeared upon the subject of Lord Melville, there is one which merits particular attention; it being *represented* to be part of the speech of a JUDGE, delivered from the bench. It is taken from a newspaper entitled the SAINT JAMES'S CHRONICLE, under the date of September, 14th, 1805; and, its words are as follow. "There are two other topics, upon which, "though of a political nature, I wish to "risk a few words. One of them is the "fate of Lord Melville. To that person, I have "no attachment political or personal. But, "I am an Englishman. Mercy and *forbearance* "are inseparable from the name. I am also "conversant in judicial habits, which de-"mand both candour and patience. I, "therefore, deprecate the *violence*, which "has devoted him the *victim* of *popular* "*clamour*, when he is in train for a dig-"nified and constitutional judgment by his "peers."——The article, from which this is taken, is entitled, the "conclusion of Mr. Justice Hardinge's *charge* to the grand jury of Glamorganshire, at Cardiff, on Monday, 2d September, 1805." Of Mr. Justice Hardinge, I know very little, never having heard his name pronounced by any human being, and, though I have observed his name, or, at least, the name of Mr. George Hardinge (who is, I believe, the same person), amongst the members of the House of Commons, I never have noticed any speech of his making, except the one that he made against Mr. Reeves's pamphlet. But, though I have read this paragraph in five different ministerial papers, in every one of which it is represented as being part of a charge delivered by Mr. Hardinge to the Glamorganshire grand jury, I cannot believe it to be part of a charge, delivered either by him or by any body else. I look upon it as one of those tricks, by which the ready instruments of power and corruption, who have a controul over so great a part of the press, occasionally impose upon the people, and, it is with full confidence of being empowered to expose it as a fabrication, that I now submit it to my readers. For, in the first place, what in all the world had the case of Lord Melville to do with the business coming before the Grand Jury at Cardiff; where to introduce, and from the bench too, topics of a political and somewhat of an irritating nature, must, one would think, have been most carefully avoided by the person, to whom this pretended charge is imputed? But, the sentiments, the *sentiments*, forbid us to entertain, for a single moment, the opinion that they were uttered by a judge; by one of those venerable persons, on whose wisdom, whose integrity, and whose independence, we so materially rely for the equal distribution of justice, and, of course, for the due protection of our property, our personal liberty, and our lives. By such a person we must conclude, that sentiments like those above quoted were never expressed; for, do we not daily see our fellow-subjects, our countrymen, our neighbours, and, to some of us they must be related and of some beloved; do we not daily see them suffering imprisonment, banishment, or death; and for what? For disobeying the law; the statute law; acts of parliament, made to prevent men from doing those things which are injurious to the commerce, or the finances of the country? And, when a man like lord Melville; a man possessing great power; a man to whom great matters were confided by his Sovereign and his country; a man loaded with emoluments from the public purse, and with honours and titles from the hand of his gracious master: when such a man is detected in a gross violation of the law, a law which he himself proposed to parliament, and for which proposition he took great merit to himself; when such a man is heard openly to declare, and that too in the presence of the representations of the people, that he has disposed of ten thousand pounds of the public money, in a manner which he will never divulge,

while there was a particular and positive law forbidding him to touch the said money at all; when such a man is censured; when justice is demanded upon the head of such a man, shall that censure and that demand be imputed to "*violence*" and to "*popular clamour*"? Is this *justice?* Is the promulgation of sentiments such as this likely to inspire the people with confidence of that sort which is so essential to the preservation of reverence for the laws and the constitution?——"Violence!" I should be glad to be told, where, and in what, this violence has appeared. Never were people more cool, more mild, more gentle, than the people of England, than the aggrieved, the deeply-injured people of England, have been, through the whole of the proceedings relative to Lord Melville. There has, in no part of the kingdom, one act of violence, or a disposition to an act of violence, appeared. The meetings, called for the purpose of petitioning and addressing upon the subject, have been conducted in the most peaceable and orderly manner; and, in no one of those papers is there to be found an expressive indicature of "*violence.*" They all breathe a profound respect for the law, a confidence in the integrity of parliament, a satisfaction at its conduct, an attachment to the person, and an anxious desire to preserve, unsullied, the crown of the King, together with the character of the country. And, shall such demonstrances of the sentiments of the people be termed *violence?* Shall they be regarded as constituting "*popular clamour*"? And, let it not be forgotten, that even these expressions of the public feeling did not make their appearance, till *after* Lord Melville had been heard in his defence; till after he had been *twice* heard, once before the commissioners, and once by the means of a paper, written, at his leisure, as an *answer* to the report made upon his conduct by those Commissioners, a paper admitted not without an unexampled stretch of indulgence. Nor is this all; for the people did not *take the lead.* It was not the *people* that began. The voice of the people was not heard; there was not one popular meeting, nor was there, I believe, one proposition, publicly made, for calling a popular meeting upon the subject, until *after* the House of Commons had, in the most deliberate and solemn manner, declared Lord Melville guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty. Where, then, is the *justice* of imputing the proceedings against Lord Melville to "*violence*" and to "*popular clamour*"? The House of Commons was not thought to be very violent in their *haste* to bring on those proceedings. The TENTH REPORT of the Naval Commissioners was laid before the House in February, and even early in that month. No one *hastened* to take it up. It was then withdrawn for the purpose of adding certain signatures. Nobody called for it. In time it came back again; and, finally, it was brought before the House in a printed state, about the middle of March. A day, a somewhat distant day, was then appointed for the purpose of taking it into consideration. When the day approached, it was put off for the sole purpose of giving Lord Melville time to write a letter, which letter was, too, upon motion of the other great man, Mr. Pitt, allowed to be brought up and taken into consideration together with the Report. At last, after the Report, after a knowledge of all the facts had been communicated to the House of Commons *more than two months,* the subject was, on the memorable 8th of April, discussed for the first time, and the decision was, that Lord Melville had, for the space of sixteen years, been constantly guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty. Was there, then, any thing *violent* previous to the discussion? Did the House of Commons exhibit signs of violence, or of apathy? And, as to the people, it has been before shown, that they suffered not their voice to be heard upon the subject, till *after* the House of Commons had decided.——But, may not the paragraph mean, that this violence and popular clamour have appeared *since* it was resolved on to impeach Lord Melville? "I there-" fore deprecate the violence, which has " devoted him the victim of popular cla-" mour, *when he is in train for* a dignified " and constitutional judgment by his peers." This is, it must be confessed, not too good English, or any thing else; and, it may mean, that "violence and popular clamour" against Lord Melville have appeared since it was resolved on to impeach him; and, the only objection to this construction is, that the fact is wholly and notoriously false; for, let me ask the reader, *what* violence has appeared, any where against Lord Melville, since the impeachment was resolved on? *Where* has there been heard, since that, any popular clamour? Did not those who had been most active in maintaining the cause of the country, immediately declare, that now there ought nothing more to be said, till the trial should be over? A striking instance of this candour, this love of justice, was shown at the county-meeting in Wiltshire. A meeting had been demand-

ed early in April, but, in consequence of the Sheriff's being upon *a tour in Wales*, and of *his letters not being sent to him*, the meeting did not take place till the 18th of June! In the mean time the House of Commons had resolved to proceed by a CRIMINAL PROSECUTION; and, therefore, at the Wiltshire meeting, it was, upon the suggestion of Mr. Hussey, unanimously agreed to, that, *as it was fixed on to bring Lord Melville to trial before a Judge and Jury, it would be improper for the freeholders to enter into any resolutions upon the subject of his offences.* Was this a mark of "*vio-*" *lence*"? Was there any thing here of "popular clamour"? Or was there a little too much of delicacy; of that over-strained candour, which is not less injurious to truth and justice than is malice itself? After the epoch we are now speaking of, the greater part of the members of parliament having retired to the country, the decision of the House of Commons with regard to the criminal prosecution was, with only a day's notice, rescinded, and it was resolved on to impeach Lord Melville. There was not a man in the whole kingdom, who did not clearly perceive the object of this. It was evident to every one. Yet, has it excited any "*vio-*" *lence*"? Has ever this goading, this stinging measure, drawn forth any thing worthy of the name of "*popular clamour?*" And, shall we, then, quietly and silently hear ourselves accused of violence and clamouring and injustice? These being the facts of the case, shall we behold publications such as I have quoted above; shall we see them circulated with such malicious and indefatigable industry; and, shall we say nothing in reply?——The partizans of the Pitts and Melvilles always speak of those who demand justice upon Lord Melville as of persons opposed not only to the ministry, but to the constitution, to the very existence of the monarchy. But, the good of it is, it was the ministers themselves; it was THE FAMILY; it was the set of the Pitts and Addingtons; it was "His Majesty's *confidential* "servants", composing "the *king's govern-* "*ment*;" it was they, they themselves, that produced the grounds of charge, and that, in fact, preferred the charge, against Lord Melville! The opposition took no part in it. There they were, left to themselves. They moved the parliament to establish a board of Commissioners. This motion was agreed to. The board was established; and, we know the consequences. It is, therefore, most shamefully unjust to complain of the Opposition in this matter; to accuse them of *prying* into secrets of government; of seeking for some such means of humouring the suspicions of the people. Great complaint has been made, that the Opposition, by the means of this subject occupied all the time of the ministry, and thereby prevented them from attending to the great affairs of the nation. But, to say nothing, at present, of the impudence of such a complaint, supposing the Opposition to have originated the inquiry, the complaint is totally unjust upon the other ground, that it was the persons composing the ministry who began the inquiry, and who, at last, brought it before parliament in such a shape, that the Opposition were compelled to take it up, or openly to give their sanction to corruption. And, with these facts before us; facts which nobody can deny, what assurance must not the partizans of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville have, to talk of the hindrance to public business, arising from the discussions relative to the conduct of the latter, and to place this hindrance at the door of the opposition! It is, indeed, true, that the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry were not appointed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, who, if they had established any such board at all, would, in all probabillity, have selected *very different men* to compose it; but, they were, at the time the Tenth Report was made, in the ministry, and in the ministry with the men, who had caused the naval commission to be established. It was, at any rate, amongst themselves. They had squabbled, and, at last, quarrelled; and if, in that quarrel, discoveries were made of importance to the state, were the members of the opposition to wink at them, to shut their eyes, to seal their lips, lest..... what! Lest the powers of the state should be taken out of the hands of those, whom they thought unfit to possess them; lest the world should, at last, see Messrs. Pitt and Dundas in their true colours; lest integrity should, after so long and arduous a warfare, triumph over corruption! To expect this degree of forbearance from the Opposition; to pretend, that it might have been expected, what effrontery must a man possess! How long must he have been in the habit of regarding the people of England, of whatever rank or degree, as made for the sole purpose of administering to the pleasure of Mr. Pitt and his creatures! No; Mr. Fox did not detect them; they detected themselves. They have been laid bare by their own hands. Mr. Fox has never *pryed* into their secrets; he has never employed himself in *hunting them out of their holes*; and, for not having done it, he has much blame to take to himself. Had he attended to the ex-

penditure of the public money; had he strictly watched them there; they would never have arrived at the point where they, with so little ceremony, ventured to lend the public money, without interest, to members of parliament. Time, however, has now done what Mr. Fox neglected to do. Their system brought itself to an end: it could go on no further: there was not confidence enough left amongst the parties concerned to hold it together any longer: and, at the end of twenty years, the accumulated sins of twenty years begin to break forth to our view. Here are the men, who rose upon their professions of superior purity; who pledged themselves to the nation to promote œconomy even in the most minute particulars; who declared open and inextinguishable war against all peculators, against every one, be he who he might, who should be found to have the least concern in misapplying the public money: here they are, brought precisely into the situation, in which Mr. Fox must wish to see them, but without any effort of his. They are, as if by some invisible and over-ruling power, brought before him and made to lay open to him and to the whole world, the proofs, the undeniable proofs, of their being, and of their always having been, exactly such men as he had, for twenty years, been describing them. Talk not of his triumph *to come:* his triumph is already complete. His triumph was complete on the 3d of May last, when his constituents, lawfully and peaceably assembled, commissioned him to go to the parliament and to the throne, and there to declare, in their name, that, with respect to the persons whom he had so long opposed, proof was now come to light, that they always ought to have been opposed by all honest and honourable men. This was the day of Mr. Fox's triumph. His rival has, by one means or another, contrived to preserve his place for twenty years; but, *what else* has he left? The two men have been twenty years engaged against one another, the one possessing the power of dispensing favours and emoluments without bounds, and the other possessing nothing but his talents and his integrity. See them now. See them at the end of the twenty years, and consider what the historian, the *future* historian, will say of them.——Mr. Burke, too, should have lived to see this day. He should have lived to see the authors of the measure relative to the Nabob of Arcot's Debts brought, at last, to account. Yes, he should have lived to see Mr. Pitt upon his examination before a committee of the House of Commons, touching a matter as to which a Bank Director was the informant; and, above all things, he should have heard him cross-examined upon the subject of his having lent to Boyd and Benfield, then members of parliament, a large sum of the public money without interest. There wanted this fact, this the most important of all the discoveries, to render complete the poetic justice of this grand drama. When, in the ever memorable speech upon the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, Mr. Burke was describing the nature and extent of the connexion between Messrs. Pitt and Dundas and Paul Benfield; when he was shewing how they set even their own law at defiance, for the sake of favouring Benfield, and of augmenting that wealth, which he so liberally employed in support of their power; when he was developing the intrigues of Benfield, laying open to public view the manner in which the money drawn from the people to be given to him was used in the subversion of the liberties of the people; when he was counting the number of members, which Benfield, by means of the wealth heaped on him by the Twin-Ministers, had returned to the parliament, then sitting, to vote for those ministers; when, having been tauntingly reminded of the defeat of himself and his party upon the subject of the India Bill, he exclaimed: "Well "do I remember every circumstance of that "memorable period! God forbid I should "ever forget it!' O, illustrious disgrace! "O, victorious defeat! may your memo-"rial be fresh and new to the latest genera-"tions! May the day of that generous con-"flict be stamped in characters never to be "cancelled or worn out from the records "of time! Let no man hear of us, who "shall not hear, that, in a struggle against "the intrigues of courts, and the perfidious "levity of the multitude, we fell in the "cause of honour, in the cause of our coun-"try, in the cause of humanity itself! But, "if fortune should be as powerful over *fame*, "as she has been prevalent over virtue, at "least our conscience is beyond her juris-"diction." When, amidst these indignant strains, expressive, too, almost of despair, he saw the Twin Ministers sneering in conscious security of the well-disciplined majority at their back, little did he imagine, that *fame*, of whom he seemed to doubt, would ever do him and his party such ample justice as has now been done them! Little did he imagine, that Paul Benfield, in spite of his hundreds of thousands of pounds, in spite of his more than princely income, would become a bankrupt, literally a bankrupt, arrainged before the commissioners at

Guildhall! Still less did he expect, that Mr. Dundas, the great patron of Benfield, the great projector and executor of the Arcot job; Mr. Dundas, whom he so severely and so justly treated in the speech now referred to; that Mr. Dundas, who sat grinning at his reproaches, and, by way of *answer*, referred him to the votes of the House; still less did he expect that this man, in spite of all the means of protection, which he had gathered, and was gathering, about him, would one day be compelled to come into the very place, where he was then sitting in insolent triumph, there to shew why he ought not to be tried by a Judge and Jury for having misapplied the public money! And, less than all could Mr. Burke have imagined, that Mr. Pitt; that the then idol of the giddy multitude of the metropolis, misled by the arts of the commercial faction; that the "heaven-born" minister, whose real character and motives he so strongly and so truly described in his speech; less than all, could he have imagined, that this man would, at last, be shown in his true colours through the means of a set of commissioners (a sort of people of whom he was so fond), appointed by his own creatures, by creatures whom he had thrusted into place, in order to keep out his opponents, till it should be convenient for himself to return. If any one had, at the time we are recurring to, told Mr. Burke, that the time would come, when Mr. Pitt, having reduced the nation to the last stages of distress and disgrace, would be heard to throw the blame upon Providence, Mr. Burke would have easily believed it: nor would he have found much difficulty in believing, that, at some time or other, discoveries such as have been made, relative to the conduct of the Twin-Ministers, would be made; but, he could hardly have believed, that any thing so very apt, so strikingly appropriate and just, as the discovery of the misapplication of the forty thousand pounds, lent to Boyd and Benfield, would ever happen. Had he been alive when the report of the Select Committee, containing the confessions of Mr. Long and the examination and cross-examination of Mr. Pitt, together with the evidence of the Goldsmids and the Thorntons, he would have exclaimed, "Paul! Paul Benfield, thy spirit is mighty still!" Nothing was ever so fit! Nothing was ever so just! Nothing could have come to light so fully to confirm what had been constantly asserted by the Opposition, with respect to the real character and motives of the Twins. Mr. Burke had, over and over again, warned the people against the consequences of confiding in those Twin-Ministers; he took infinite pains to explain to them the manner, in which corruption worked; he showed the difference between personal and political corruption, and proved to them how much more dangerous the latter was than the former: but, he was talking to a people prejudiced, blinded, and, withal, prone to admire cunning, rather than great, men. He, therefore, for that time, talked in vain; but, *now* his words are remembered with great advantage; now his sentiments and his predictions are recurred to; now are his speeches against the Twins like bread thrown upon the waters. He told the people, that the money extracted from their labour, and given to Benfield, went, in part at least, to purchase seats in parliament, and thereby to give votes to the ministers, through whose means Benfield received the money. The people turned a deaf ear to him; but, now they listen; now they turn back to what he then said; now that it is discovered, that the "heaven-born" minister has since lent to this same Benfield and his partner, *without interest*, they being, at the time, *members of parliament*, a large sum of the public money; of the money of the people, without excepting the Grocer's Company, or any one of those wiseacres who stretched their throats in bawling out the praises of "the *pure*," the "*heaven-born* son of Chatham;" now they hear, they see, they believe, and they will not again be easily deceived.——From this digression, which is too long to admit of being lengthened by an apology, I should now return to the subject of the efforts that are making, by the partizans of corruption, to deceive and mislead the people, and, thereby, to obstruct the course, and defeat the ends of justice; and, the next publication of this sort, to which I should refer, would be a work, entitled, "A REVIEW OF THE REPORTS MADE BY THE NAVAL COMMISSIONERS: BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN." This work, which has been, and yet is, published in numbers, must have cost, I should think, not less than SEVEN OR EIGHT THOUSAND POUNDS. It has been advertised, almost continually, in *all* the newspapers in the kingdom: it has a stamp: and it is *given away*, with a profusion hardly credible. In short, it looks like *a great measure*, and, perhaps, it is one of those which is intended to save us from the fangs of Buonaparté! If one may judge from the principles it contains; from the flippancy of its language; from the shallowness it discovers upon all subjects, the discussion of which requires solidity of mind; but, above

all, from that mixture of pertness and malignity, so predominant in every part of it: if one may judge from these, as well as from certain other circumstances of place and time, the principal conductor is THE UPSTART; and the literary contributors are, in all probability, a well-known knot of subaltern peculators. This publication shall be more fully noticed in my next; and, in the mean while, I insert, in another part of the preceding sheet, a letter upon the subject of Lord Melville's conduct, being resolved to neglect no opportunity of endeavouring to counteract the unprincipled efforts that are making, and some of which I have above noticed, to pervert the minds of the people, and to defeat the intention of all the upright and salutary measures adopted by the House of Commons, in their last session, relative to the expenditure of the public money.

CONTINENTAL COALITION.——The following article is from the SUN of the 20th instant. It is worthy of attention; for, the reader may be certain, that it was approved of at the Treasury before it found its way into the SUN.——"According to letters "from Vienna, dated the 27th of August, "a manifesto will be published as soon as a "junction is formed between the Russian "armies and that division of Austrian troops "intended to co-operate with them. The "purpose of this expected manifesto is said "to be an explanation of the motives that "have led to an armed neutrality on the "part of the two Imperial Courts, and the "causes that have induced them to negotiate with arms in their hands, as well as "the conditions upon which not only the "peace of the Continent will remain uninterrupted, but a general pacification be "definitively settled. It is also stated, that "the aggressions and encroachments of "France have compelled the two Emperors "to require, at the head of their armies, "those just terms which their own and the "common safety of all independent countries absolutely demand, but which the "French government, instead of listening "to, have hitherto evaded, by continual intrigues, and only proceeded to new violence and outrage. The conditions upon "which their Imperial Majesties will consent, and procure the consent of England "to a general pacification, are, according to "rumours in the political circles of Vienna, "as follows:——France is to evacuate all "Italy, Piedmont, Switzerland, and Holland, into which, as well as Germany, no "French troops are, upon any pretext, to "penetrate. The offensive and defensive "treaty between France and Spain of 1796 "is to be dissolved, and the latter kingdom, "as well as Portugal, is to have its independence restored. The left bank of the "Rhine, and the Alps, and Pyrenees are "to be the boundaries of the French empire, which cannot, for the future, be "passed in time of peace without being "considered by the armed neutrality as a "declaration of war. The Powers forming "the armed neutrality and the future league "of pacification, are, besides Russia and "Austria, to consist of England, Turkey, "Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, Naples, Sardinia, Lombardy, Etruria, Spain, and "Portugal. Piedmont is to be restored to "the King of Sardinia; Lombardy, with "Parma and Placenza, are to be erected "into an independent kingdom, in favour "of the elder branch of the Bourbon family. Upon these conditions all the "Confederate Princes are to acknowledge "Buonaparté as Emperor of the French, "and England is to restore Malta to the "Order, Russia will evacuate the Seven "Islands, and, as well as the other States, "respect the independence and guarantee "the integrity of the Turkish empire.—— "Such, according to the letters which we "have received, and by the reports in the "chief diplomatic and military circles on "the Continent, are to form the prominent "features of the Manifesto which is speedily "to be issued by the allied Imperial Courts. "We lay these rumours before our readers, "without venturing to pledge ourselves for "their authenticity; but our correspondent "confidently states, that, in the opinion of "the best politicians in the countries that "dare to speak without fear of France, those "conditions alone can insure the safety and "independence of Europe from the restless "ambition of revolutionary France. We "confess, however, that, admitting such "proposals should really come from the "two Imperial Courts, we have little hopes "of a pacific result, considering the outrageous pride and immeasurable ambition "which constitutes the character of the "French Usurper. It is very probable that "blows will be struck before treaties are "concluded."——There is nothing that can astonish me now, in the conduct of Mr. Pitt, except he should quit his place without the application of physical force; and, therefore, I will not say, that some project of this sort may not be on foot. The project of a war against the person of Buonaparté seems to have been abandoned; and, that something in the way of project will be adopted we may be certain, if Mr. Pitt should, unfortunately, long continue to be

prime minister. Something in the way of *trick*. Something that shall furnish matter for a showy speech; and, if possible, obtain a majority of votes at the meeting of parliament. But, to *acknowledge* Buonaparté as Emperor of the French! Buonaparté would spurn at the offer. He will hold nothing in virtue of such an acknowledgment, well knowing that he could not possibly have a worse tenure. So that, the proposition, if it should be made to him, will only give him an opportunity of showing the people of France, that it is not the glory of himself and family that he has in view, but the glory of France, whose permanent greatness he prefers to his own. It will, besides, furnish some very pretty materials for an article in the Moniteur, which will not fail to compare it with that anxious desire, recently expressed by the ministerial papers, to free the people of France "*from the grasp of their tyrannical Usurper*," and to "restore them to their former state of happiness, *under their legitimate Monarch*." This would be a very amusing contrast for the Moniteur to exhibit, in the views of the "*disinterested* friends of the French;" and there is very little doubt but it would produce an effect extremely advantageous to Napoleon.——The project was, however, probably thrown out, like the other, for the purpose of feeling the public pulse. The fact is, that the ministry, harassed as they are with the difficulties, which they themselves have brought upon the country, and alarmed for the safety of their places, know not what to do. The operations upon the Continent free them, for a little, from the dread of invasion, and, therefore, they have hastily rushed into the measures, which have produced those operations; but, the dread hangs lurking over them. They feel that, and they know not what to do to get rid of it. "*A League of Pacification*" is as likely to enter their heads as any other scheme; but, I think, the reader will agree with me, that a more childish one, especially as described by the Sun, would not be easily found out.—— The fluctuating from project to project is the natural consequence of a state of things, in which the persons at the head of affairs know not what to do, especially if they are persons of no solid political wisdom, and of no fixed principles. But, the people should be upon their guard against the false hopes, which such projects are calculated to excite amongst persons who do not reflect. They should never forget the hopes that Mr. Pitt held out to them, and the promises he made them, during the late war with France; and, their confidence now should be regulated upon their experience then. In short, they should place confidence in nothing that partakes of *trick*: no trick, they may be well assured, will save their country: if battles upon the Continent fail, there must and will be battles in England. Above all things, they should be prepared for a long war; for great exertions and great sacrifices; for an alteration in their manner of spending their time, in their eating, in their drinking, and in their dress. I am perfectly serious: I may deceive myself, perhaps, but I have no intention to deceive others; and I give it as my settled opinion, that there never will again be real peace in England (she continuing independent), until there be a very great change indeed in the *internal* affairs of the nation. Again I invite those who differ from me in opinion, upon this point, to state to me *the grounds* of their opinion. To point out the way, in which, our present system of political economy adhered to, we shall be able to preserve the throne of our Sovereign and the independence of our country; to show me how we are to maintain a war for the space of five or six years longer, and, at the same time, to continue to pay the interest of the national debt, which debt must be increased to seven hundred millions before the end of that time; to deny, if he can, that we must, unless we make some deduction from the interest of the national debt, beyond the five per centum now deducted, under the name of Income Tax, have *loans even in time of peace*, whenever the name of peace is obtained. This is what I have asked for; it is what I still ask for; and, let not him who refuses to satisfy me, or to attemt to satisfy me, complain of my desponding notions. It is easy to say: "Never fear; we shall get out of the "scrape somehow or other; and, in the "mean-time, are we not very well off?" This is easy enough to say: Old George Rose can say this; and, indeed, George is very well off. But, is this sufficient to satisfy any man, who is anxious for the honour and safety of his country? I state *the reasons*, why I think what I think; and, let no one condemn my conclusions, unless he will take the trouble to show that my reasons are not sound. *A change*, a *great change*, in our internal affairs, I again and again say, is absolutely necessary to the preservation of the monarchy and of the independence of England. The grounds of this assertion have been, over and over again stated, without the least reserve: the ministerial writers have honoured me with much abuse, but I have never yet received

any thing like an answer.——There is, at this moment, the greatest danger to be apprehended from the people being buoyed up by false hopes; for, never was there a time when greater exertion was likely to be wanted, and we know, that to chill exertion, nothing is so efficacious as disappointment; a nation is never so likely to give itself up to despair, as at the moment when its sanguine hopes have been blasted. For this reason it is, that I am anxious to put my readers upon their guard against publications like the following, taken from the SUN and the ORACLE of the 25th instant: "By accounts from "Vienna dated the 4th instant, we learn, "that the enthusiasm of the Austrian armies "in favour of their Sovereign has never been "so high since the memorable days of "Maria Theresa as it is at this moment. "An universal zeal seems to animate the "troops to avenge the insults and outrages "which their Prince has received from the "Tyrant of France. The States of Bohemia had, within the proceeding four "weeks, offered forty thousand volunteers, "and the States of Upper and Lower "Austria forty-four thousand, all to be "clothed and equipped at their own ex"pense. It is supposed that Hungary will "send into the field a still greater num"ber of men, as we have, indeed, already "stated. In the ci-devant Venetian States "four regiments of three thousand men "each have been raised in six weeks, and "such is the detestation of Buonaparté's "government in that country, that the in"habitants *have demanded arms to rise en"masse* in case of an invasion by the "Usurper's banditti. *Several insurrec"tions* in Piedmont and in Lombardy "have occurred since Buonaparté's troops "in those quarters were marched to"wards the Adige, and these disturbances "began to wear so serious an aspect that "General Menou was obliged *to write* for "new troops from France, and the whole "garrison of Lyons, except six hundred "men, were expected in Piedmont to rein"force the garrison of Turin, and to *scour "the country*. . . . . In Spain, the discon"tent of the people is *universal*, and is "*openly expressed*. They know that they "have been forced into a war in direct op"position to their interests, merely to gra"tify the ambition of a foreigner, by whom "they are insulted and plundered. But as "long as the Prince of Peace retains his "power, so long the power and resources "of Spain will be at the command of "France. That *Upstart Minion* knows "that he *holds his situation in opposition to "the wishes of the great body of the nobili"ty, and a great majority of the people* of "Spain, but it is upon the influence and "the power of France that he relies for "support; his abject submission, therefore, "to the mandates of Buonaparté, cannot be "a subject of surprise."——Really! It may be so; but, though the Prince of Peace be an "upstart minion," it was not, methinks, for the SUN newspaper to reproach him with it. And, I would like to ask almost any of the persons, who now possess the powers and emoluments of government, in this country; I would like to ask Old George Rose, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, or any of the Dundases, for instance, whether they think that the circumstance of the Prince of Peace being an *Upstart Minion*, is likely to excite, in Spain, discontent of that sort that usually leads to insurrection. But, "he holds his "place," it seems, "*in opposition to the "wishes of the great body of the nobility, "and a great majority of the people.*" Indeed! Why, then, may he, and with all convenient speed, feel the vegeance of that nobility and of that people! May he be made to feel, that, though, by base intrigues, he is able to hold his place; such insolence, such contempt for a nation's will; such a disregard for the public weal; such a flagrant preference of his own interests to those of his country; may he be made to feel, that these are not for ever to meet with impunity. Nothing, indeed, is better calculated to irritate a people, to make them hate their government, and make them careless about their country; nothing can be better calculated to produce such feelings, than to see the powers of the state possessed, to see its honours dispensed, and its treasures squandered, by a man, in whom neither the *nobility* nor the *people* have any confidence; but who, by the means of base servility on the one hand, and of corruption on the other, still holds his place; still hangs on, with an apparent determination to sink his country rather than quit his grasp. But, while I allow, that such conduct in the Prince of Peace may, possibly, produce discontents in Spain; while I allow, that the people who silently suffer themselves to be ruled, to be laid under contribution, to be continually harrassed, by that minister and his "Upstart Minions," deserve very little compassion; while I allow that the Prince of Peace cannot load them more heavily, nor whip them harder, than they deserve; still I must hesitate before I agree with the SUN in expecting, from such a cause, at least, an *insurrection* in Spain.——As to the account of the loyalty and zeal of the Hungarians

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and Bohemians, it is to be hoped, that it is not altogether ideal; but, the ORACLE will find it very difficult to persuade any man, who is not within a hair's breadth of idiocy, that there is any great quantity of courage to be found amongst the people of the Venetian States; and, if they have actually demanded arms, I beg my readers to mark the result, being very much mistaken if the demand will not be refused. The "*several* "*insurrections* in Piedmont," which have induced Gen. MENOU to write to France for troops wherewith to "*scour* the country," would, with me, have more the air of probability, had I forgotten the statement, in this same newspaper, published in the month of November last, relative to the discontents amongst the *French* people, and even amongst the *troops* of Napoleon. "The "enemies of *oppression*," said this supporter of the Pitts and Melvilles! "The enemies "of oppression will be glad to hear, that "the French nation itself, doomed for "some time past to vent its complaints in "unavailing murmurs, has, at last, courage "to *remonstrate aloud against the usurpa*"*tion of Buonaparté*, whose pride and in"solence are intolerable. Talleyrand and "Fouché, who may be called his right and "left arms, perhaps his very vital principle, "*have indicated symptoms of dislike to the* "*will of the tyrant*. The armies are also "beginning *to express sentiments of disaf*"*fection*. Accounts from Boulogne state, "that *universal discontent prevails amongst* "*the troops*; that *all idea of their embark*"*ing for the purpose of invasion has been* "*abandoned*." [Observe, reader, this was printed on the 19th of November last]; "and, that the flotilla men are ready to "turn against their commanders."—— Now, after such accounts as this, and after the proof, the repeated proof, which we have had of their falsehood, their absolute, their intentional, falsehood, ought we not to be upon our guard? The truth is, that accounts, such as I have above inserted, are mere fabrications, published for the purpose of what is called, "*keeping up the spirit* of "the nation;" and, as they, with some little variation, are, by the means of money, admitted into most of the newspapers, they have a pretty general effect, amongst the vulgar, great as well as little. They serve to lead the people along from stage to stage in the decline of their country; they tend to make them see their country fall without regret; but, never was that spirit, by which alone a country can be effectually defended, supported, for one moment, by such means.

BOXING.—It will be recollected, that it was a boxing match between DENNIS DILLON and another man, which gave rise to the several articles, which have recently appeared in the Register upon this subject. The case of DILLON was stated pretty fully in page 193 of the present Volume; and, I am persuaded, that my readers will partake in the satisfaction which I feel in informing them; that, notwithstanding the very alarming verdict of the Coroner's Jury, Dillon was acquitted, at the Old Bailey, where, on the 24th instant, he was tried before MR. JUSTICE HEATH. This result, it will be remembered, our confidence in the uprightness and wisdom of the Judges led us to anticipate; and, it will hardly be thought improper, if we express a hope that the decision may have its due weight with the inferior magistrates.

Botley, Thursday,
26th Sept. 1805.

ABBÉ DE LA MARRE.

A curious and interesting correspondence has taken place between one of the agents of Louis XVIII. and the party of emigrants in this country. Much valuable matter has been disclosed to our ministers by this seasonable fracas, and thereby our government, at the commencement of this new war, will see how the funds of England have been squandered, and how its precious machinations against the power of Buonaparté have been conducted by the click whom they kept in pay. The indiscretion of one of the most polished courtiers of ancient France has given rise to the explosion. The Comte de Vaudreuil happened, at the table of an English gentleman, to accuse the Abbé de la Marre, "of being a very dangerous person; "an agent of Buonaparté near the King; a "vile debauchee, who, in all his missions "through Germany, was accompanied by "his prostitute; and who, in short, was a "man totally lost in reputation." This charge was faithfully reported to the Abbé, and it has drawn from him a most masterly detail of the whole conduct of the emigrant party in England, the authors, advisers, and executors of those plots, which have cost the British government such a waste of reputation, as well as money.—"Yes," says the Abbé de la Marre, "I own, that to this party I am a dangerous person, for I am acquainted with every one of their practices; I know all their perfidies; all their intrigues; and am even acquainted with the terms of their schemes, and the distribution of the booty. At every journey which I made into England on the service of my Royal Master, I witnessed the agitation which my

presence occasioned them, as if they apprehended that the fountain of gold was to be shut against them.——Yes; I am to them a dangerous man, because if I were admitted to the presence of a British minister, I should be able to say, that the King has been obliged to spare, out of his own very small income, wherewith to pay his agents and correspondents; and that he has never known either the amount of the succours which Great Britain has given to his cause, nor the manner in which they have been employed. I should be obliged to say, that the dispensers of those funds have constantly said to the agents of government, "we are "obliged to conceal from the King all "knowledge of projects, the most useful, "because he has no confidence in the Bri- "tish minister." The wretches!—while they wrote to the King, "that the ministry "here were jealous of his agents, and would "not permit them to communicate to him "their designs." I would prove, that in only two instances in one week I saw the government robbed of 7,500l. sterling.—— If ever I shall be called on to speak to the public, I shall prove that the King, always a Frenchman, constantly disapproved of the plan of desolation, invented by the avarice of these intriguers; and, I shall add, that in the autumn of 1803, his Majesty, without effect, issued his orders for the return of the unhappy Georges from France; "because," said he, "*Il n'y a plus rien à remuer dans "son pays que des cendres.*" There was nothing now left in his country to stir but its ashes. If the time were come, I should publish the seven political letters which I addressed in 1802, to the Comte d'Escars; and it will be seen that the virulence of the party of the French Noblesse in England against me, takes its date precisely from the epoch when I discovered the brigandage of the men who so scandalously made a traffic of the confidence of their Princes; and when I in vain endeavoured to recommend an honourable and useful plan, in the room of projects, base, humiliating, and disastrous." ——The Abbé goes on to say, that these wretched projects have had the effect which he anticipated, of rallying round the new government of France, all the interests, all the *amour-propre*, the ambition of the French people; and because he predicted all this, they call him the agent of Buonaparté. The history of his political services will give the lie to the charge. He dares the whole click to shew, that a single servant or agent of the choice of his Majesty has been faithless; but he pledges himself to name ten traitors who have surprised, and actually betrayed, the confidence of Monsieur, "without pre- "judice to those who may yet be in his ser- "vice." The Abbé gives a most striking picture of the persons who compose the party, both as to their intellectual and moral features; and particularly describes the character of the agents whom they entrusted abroad, on their redoubtable missions. The Dunans of glorious memory; the famous Bayard; the very dear and faithful Abbé le Moine, &c.! And he dares the whole world to say, that in any one of his journies in Austria, in Prussia, in Russia, in England, he was ever seen accompanied by any woman, honest or dishonest. His journies were always made with extreme expedition; and several times at the most rigorous season, he went from Uberlingen, or from Augsbourg to Mittau, without twice going to bed. A man must have had strange cruelty to drag a woman along with him! And where, he demands, could he have found money for such a scandal? His expenses were settled at a Committee of Agency, held at Cobourg on the 9th of May, 1801; the statement was sent to the King, and he then received a declaration, "that no "part of the funds granted by England, "from the 1st of February, 1798, to the "9th of May, 1801, had been paid to him;" he then gave in his resignation. "Which "of you all, Messieurs," says he, "can "produce such a certificate?" The Abbé concludes with a declaration, that if justice is not done to his injured character, he will forthwith publish all the details of the infamous manner in which the money issued for the cause of the French King, has been intercepted, distributed, and misapplied.—— This disclosure has made a great impression on the ministry. The Alien Office has sent to the Abbé de la Marre, and demanded from him a detail of all the facts to which he alludes, respecting M. Du Thé, and others, which he no doubt will render with the same freedom and independence of spirit, that characterises his letter.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note presented to the Diet by M. Bacher, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Ratisbon. Dated September 11, 1805.

Under the present circumstances of affairs, when the movements of the House of Austria menace the Continent with a new war, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, judges it necessary to make known, in a frank and solemn declaration, the sentiments by which he is animated, in order to enable his contemporaries and posterity to judge with a true know-

ledge of the case, in the event of the war taking place, who has been the aggressor.——It is with this view, that the undersigned, Chargé d'Affaires of his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of the French, to the German Diet, has received orders to present a faithful exposition of the principles by which his Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, has been uniformly actuated in his conduct towards Austria.——Every thing which that power has done contrary to the spirit and letter of treaties, the Emperor has hitherto permitted. He has not complained of the immediate extension of territory on the right side of the Pave, against the acquisition of Lindau, against all the other acquisitions made by him in Suabia, and which, subsequently to the treaty of Luneville, have materially altered the relative situation of the neighbouring states in the interior of Germany; against those, in fine, which continue at the present moment the subject of negotiation with different princes, to the perfect knowledge of all Germany; he has not complained of the debt of Venice not having been discharged, contrary to the spirit and the letter of the treaties of Campo Formio, and of Luneville; he has not complained of the denial of justice experienced at Vienna by his subjects of Milan and Mantua, none of whom, notwithstanding the formal stipulations, have been paid their demands; neither has he complained of the partiality with which Austria has recognised the right of blockade, which England so monstrously arrogates to herself; and when the neutrality of the Austrian flag was so often violated to the injury of France, he was not provoked by this conduct of the Court of Vienna to make any complaint, thus making a sacrifice to his love of peace, in preserving silence upon the subject.——The Emperor has evacuated Switzerland, rendered tranquil and happy by his act of mediation; he has not kept in Italy a greater number of troops than is indispensibly necessary to maintain the positions which they occupy to the extremity of the Peninsula, in order to protect the commerce of the Levant, and to insure himself an object of compensation which may determine England to evacuate Malta, and Russia to evacuate Corfu; he has not upon the Rhine, and interior of his empire, any more troops than are indispensibly necessary to garrison the different places.——Engaged entirely in the operations of a war which he has not provoked, which he sustains as much for the interests of Europe as for his own, and in which his principal end is the re-establishment of the equilibrium of commerce and the equal right of all flags upon the sea, he has united all his forces in the camps upon the borders of the ocean, far distant from the Austrian frontiers; he has employed all the resources of his empire to construct fleets, to form his marine, to improve his ports; and, it is at the same moment when he reposes with entire confidence upon the execution of treaties which have re-established the peace of the Continent, that Austria rises from her state of repose, organizes her forces upon the war establishment, sends an army into the states of Italy, establishes another equally considerable in the Tyrol; it is at this moment that she makes new levies of cavalry, that she forms magazines, that she strengthens her fortifications, that she terrifies by her preparations the people of Bavaria, of Suabia, and of Switzerland, and discovers an evident intention of making a diversion so obviously favourable to England, and more injuriously hostile towards France than would be a direct campaign, and an open declaration of war. In these grave circumstances, the Emperor of the French has deemed it his duty to invite the Court of Vienna to return to a proper sense of its true interests. All the expedients which an ardent love of peace could suggest have been resorted to with avidity, and several times renewed. The Court of Vienna has made high professions of its respect for the treaties which exist between it and France; but its military preparations have developed her intentions, at the same time that her declarations have become more and more pacific. Austria has declared that she has no hostile intention against the states of his Majesty the Emperor of the French. Against whom, then, are her preparations directed? Are they against the Swiss? Are they against Bavaria? Will they, in the end, be directed against the German empire itself?——His Majesty the Emperor of the French has charged the undersigned to make known, that he will consider, as a formal declaration of war directed against himself, all aggressions which may be attempted against the German Body, and especially against Bavaria.——His Majesty the Emperor of the French will never separate the interests of his empire from those of the princes of Germany who are attached to him. Any injury which they may sustain, any dangers by which they may be menaced, can never be indifferent to him, or foreign from his lively solicitude.——Persuaded that the princes and states of the German empire are penetrated with the same sentiments, the undersigned, in the name of the Emperor of the French, invites the Diet to unite with him in pressing, by every consideration of justice and reason, the Emperor of Austria

not to expose for any longer period the present generation to incalculable calamities, to spare the blood of a multitude of men doomed to perish the victims of a war the object of which is foreign to Germany, which, at the moment of its breaking out is every where the subject of inquiry and doubt, and whose real motives cannot be avowed.—The alarms of the Continent will not be allayed, until the Emperor of Austria, yielding to the just and pressing representations of Germany, shall cease his hostile preparations, shall not keep in Suabia and in the Tyrol more troops than are necessary for garrisoning the places, and shall replace his army on the peace establishment. Was it not understood, since the conventions entered into in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, that the Austrian armies could not pass the territories of Upper Austria, without committing actual hostility? Was not Austria sensible at that period, that France being then engaged in a foreign war, having withdrawn her troops from Suabia, and having put a stop to the movements which it could make by means of the corps of troops she had in Switzerland, it was not just to oppose to such marks of confidence precautions truly aggressive? The circumstances being the same at present on the part of France, why are the measures of Austria so different? Why does she keep sixty battalions in the Tyrol and Suabia, whilst the forces of France are collected at a distance for an expedition against England?——There exists no difference at this moment between the Swiss republic and the German empire; no difference between Bavaria and Austria; and, if any credit is to be given to the declarations of the Court of Vienna, there exists none between it and France. For what unknown objects then has the Court of Vienna assembled so many troops?——It can have but one plausible object, that is, to keep France in a state of indecision, to place her in a state of inactivity; and, in a word, to arrest her progress on the eve of a decisive effort. But this object can only be attained for a time. France has been deceived; she is no longer so. She has been obliged to defer her enterprizes; she still defers them; she waits the effect of these remonstrances; she waits the effect of the representations of the Germanic Diet. But when every effort shall be fruitlessly made to bring Austria to the adoption either of a sincere peace, or of an undisguised and open hostility, his Majesty the Emperor of the French will fulfil all the duties imposed on him by his dignity and his power: he will direct his efforts to every quarter in which France shall be menaced. Providence has bestowed on him sufficient strength to contend against England with one hand, and with the other to defend the honour of his standards and the rights of his allies.—Should the Diet adopt the course which the undersigned has orders to point out to it; should it succeed in representing to the view of the Emperor of Austria the real situation, in which these movements, made perhaps without reflection, ordered perhaps without any hostile intention, and solely in consequence of foreign influence, have placed the Continent; should it succeed in persuading this Sovereign, individually humane and just, that he has no enemies, that his frontiers are not threatened, that France has twice had it in her power to deprive him for ever of one half of his hereditary states, if she had extended her wishes beyond what had been established at Campo Formio and Luneville; that, by his dispositions, which even before they are fully developed, affect France even in the centre of her action, he interferes, without advantage to his states, and without honour to his policy, in a quarrel which is foreign to him, the diet will have deserved well of Germany, of Switzerland, of Italy, of France, of all Europe, with the exception of a single nation, the enemy of the general tranquillity, and which has founded its prosperity on the hope and the design, ardently and perseveringly maintained, of perpetuating the discord, the troubles, and the divisions of the Continent. The undersigned, &c. (Signed) BACHER.

AUSTRIAN ANSWER TO THE FRENCH NOTE. —*Rescript delivered by the Austrian Imperial Minister to the Imperial and Royal Legations at Ratisbon, dated Vienna, September* 9, 1805.

The declaration which the French Chargé d'Affaires was ordered to communicate to the Diet at Ratisbon, has been laid before his Roman and Austrian Imperial Majesty.—According to this declaration the states of the German Empire might be induced to imagine that the armaments and acts of violence of the French Emperor in Italy, have given Austria no cause for a counter-arming; that France, not Austria, wishes the restoration of a general peace, to attain which restoration, was the object of the intended invasion of England, which Austria now endeavours to interrupt, to prevent the attainment of this object.—With this declaration is connected the threat of an attack on the German Empire, if Austria does not immediately disarm at the order of the French Emperor.—Called upon by such a declaration made to the German Diet, his

Majesty finds it incumbent upon him to lay before his co-estates of the Empire such documents as may shew the true causes and views which have compelled him to arm. They will thence perceive that Austria offered its mediation for the restoration of peace and tranquillity, which France refused; that France wishes not peace; for that situation is not peace, but more destructive than war, in which a single power, formidable by its greatness, alone remains armed, and is prevented by no opposition from occupying with its troops, oppressing, and subjecting one independent peaceable state after another.—To put an end to this state of things is the object of the arming of the Austrian and Russian Imperial Courts; and that the former, from the menacing armaments of the French in Italy, has the most pressing motives to be careful, for its own safety, must be evident to all who have had experience in the affairs of the world; and for further proof it is only necessary to refer to the extracts of the Moniteurs of the 12th of May, and 13th of June of the present year.—That only this object, and not any self-interested views, have produced the determination of Austria and Russia, appears from their readiness to enter into any negociation on principles of justice and moderation—from their assurances to the states of the Empire, that, in case war should prove unavoidable, they will maintain the legal state of the German Constitution and possessions inviolate; which assurances the Austrian Envoys have orders to repeat and confirm in the most solemn manner.—The threats of the French Emperor to attack the German Empire, shews how necessary it is to be guarded against such an attack by adequate preparations; experience never to be forgotten has taught with what consequences the fulfilment of such threats on the part of France is connected; and it is the more necessary to be active in preventing them, as already the most certain indications are apparent, that several Princes of the frontier circles of the Empire have been encouraged on the part of the French, to take up arms against their Emperor and co-estate, and to this end new secret connections have been entered into, and those existing abused.—His Majesty trusts with confidence, that if not all, at least the greater part of the states of the empire will see the dangerous tendency of such proceedings, and the necessity of warding off from Germany, by unanimity, fidelity and courage, the fate of Italy and other neighbouring countries of France, which have been rendered either half, or entirely dependent upon her; and that they will consequently approve and promote those measures, without which the salutary views of Austria and Russia cannot be carried into effect; for it is most evident that the possibility of maintaining a real peace, depends on being prepared with those effectual means, which, in case it should be impossible to attain the object wished, can alone furnish the last hope of deliverance and succour. LOUIS, COUNT COBENTZEL.

[The statements mentioned in the above rescript, are extracts from the moniteurs of the 11th of May, and 19th of June. The former gives an account of the camp of Marengo, where thirty battalions of infantry of the line, four battalions of light infantry, and seven squadrons of cavalry, were assembled. The other article is from the camp of Castiglione, dated the 13th of June, saying, "at the moment of our arrival, forty-eight battalions of infantry, and forty-five squadrons of cavalry, with sixty pieces of cannon, are exercising in the immense plain of Montechiaro. France never had better troops, which performed their exercise more readily, or were animated with a better spirit. If you see this camp, after that of Marengo, and know, that we have, independent of these, a division at Genoa, another at Florence, and a third at Naples, you will find that we have at this moment a greater army in Italy than ever, without reckoning the corps of Italian troops, which is forming under the eye of its master, and appears to be animated with a desire to render itself worthy of its Sovereign."]

AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.——*Two Declarations in the Form of Notes, delivered by M. de Talleyrand, French Minister of Foreign Relations, to Count Philip Cobentzel, at Paris.*

First Note from M. de Talleyrand, delivered on the 13th August, 1805.

The undersigned has hastened, on the termination of the conference which he has had the honour of holding with Count de Cobentzel, to transmit to Boulogne the Declaration delivered to him by his Excellency (alluding to the Austrian Declaration of the 5th of August), and he has received orders from the Emperor and King to return the following answer:——The Emperor could not fail of being sensibly affected by the sentiments of moderation shewn in the aforesaid Declaration, and by the amicable readiness of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, to hasten, by his interposition, the termination of the evils caused by the war to the French empire. But the more his Majesty knows how to appreciate the

importance and the value of the good offices of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the more he is grateful for the intention with which the offer of those good offices is made, and the more does he feel, that his very sentiments of gratitude forbid him to make use thereof: if, on the one hand, from the nature of things, and on the other, from the situation of circumstances, it is not even permitted to hope, that they can be employed with advantage, nor consequently without comprising the dignity of the Mediator. This motive alone would be decisive for his Majesty, even if it were possible to forget how the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburgh have very lately answered his most noble and magnanimous behaviour.—M. de Novosiltzoff was coming to France, without the Emperor's knowing his intentions. The King of Prussia had required passports for this Chamberlain of the Emperor of Russia. The passports were immediately granted without any explanation. What benefit has his Majesty derived from this extraordinary concession? An offensive note, replete with false assertions, was the sole result from a mission, which the Emperor had neither occasioned nor required.—Being thus attacked in his honour, it is no longer possible for him to require or expect any thing of Russia, who, instead of being desirous of peace, finds her own interest in war, and founds on its renovation hopes, which she attempts in vain to conceal, when her behaviour unveils them even to those eyes which are the least penetrating.——For a twelvemonth past the Emperor has received nothing but insults from the Russian Cabinet. His character and his dispositions are too well known for it to be believed, that he will expose himself to fresh injuries. It belongs to the Emperor Alexander to judge which alternative appears most advantageous for him; whether to persist in a system, to the adoption of which he was moved by foreign influence, or to return to more moderate, more just, and wiser sentiments. He has a greater interest in returning to them, than France has to lead him back thereto. This alteration must be the result of his own contideration, and cannot form an object of any kind of negotiation.——As to England, his Majesty made an attempt, eight months ago, to incline her to peace; which attempt Europe knew how to appreciate, and which would not have been in vain, if England had depended solely upon her own resources; but, from the answer returned by the Cabinet of St. James's, it was clear that it would not think of a peace, till it had lost every hope of setting the Continent in flames, and of covering Italy with blood and carnage. With this intention, and with this intention alone, it called upon the interposition of Russia. The Cabinet of Vienna is too enlightened not to perceive this, though the projects and motives of England were not known to it, from the pressing solicitations, and from the offer of subsidies with which she has constantly besieged the Court of Vienna, to induce it to take up arms. It cannot be hoped that such a power will listen to the advice of moderation and justice. It would even be useless to speak to it of its interest, which ought to be dearest to it. Blind passions induce it to mistake those interests. The voice of persuasion would avail nothing; but that which the good offices of Austria cannot induce England to do, Austria can oblige her to do. She needs neither exertions nor menaces for this purpose, but merely to observe a very simple process, which will convince England of her impotence.——England knows, and has more than once declared, that Russia alone cannot afford her any assistance, and that a diversion will be of no use to her, as long as Prussia and Austria will not cooperate with her.——Prussia has declared at all times, that she will in no case enter into any hostile project against France. Let the Emperor of Austria make the same declaration, and the British Cabinet will immediately feel its own interest, as it is no longer deceived by unfounded imaginations, and informed by the opinion of the most enlightened people of that country; it will immediately see the necessity of returning to the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, and she will find her happiness in this necessity. Then the Emperor of Germany will not only have a claim upon the gratitude of the Emperor of the French, but he will have effected more for his own advantage than if he had gained ten battles against France; for an immediate consequence of the peace would be the performance of the obligation which his Majesty the Emperor of the French has taken upon himself, and which he renews with pleasure, of separating the Crowns of France and Italy.—If on the other hand, Austria, by indecisive measures, leave a doubtful and uncertain opinion; if thereby she authorises the assertions of the English ministry, that she belongs to a coalition; if she continues to keep 72,000 men in Italy, the Emperor will be obliged to believe that she sees, with a secret joy, a war which weakens France, and that she thinks the moment favourable for resuming those hostilities, of which the present generation must be

tired of being made the victims. —— His Majesty, who has only 50,000 men in Italy, 15,000 of whom are at the extremity of the kingdom of Naples, sees his most important frontier exposed to danger, and cannot provide it with fresh troops without drawing the troops from his Army of the Ocean; he can, therefore, not consider Austria in any other light than that of making a diversion in favour of England, which is as impressive and more troublesome to him than would be an open war.——His Excellency Count Cobentzel will have remarked what great and extraordinary subjects the present circumstances offer. Such circumstances render measures necessary answerable thereto. It is a truth, of which all enlightened men are sensible, and of which his Majesty is penetrated; when Frederic the Second saw that a war was intended against him, he was beforehand with his enemies. The House of Austria has more than once done the same: at present the Emperor of the French sees preparations making in Poland and in Italy. Even the places where they are made, shew that they are the result of an agreement, and point out against whom they are intended. The undersigned must ask of Count Cobentzel, what would the Emperor of Germany do, if he were in the place of the French Emperor?——However, the Emperor will be happy to suppose the best for futurity, as it depends on Austria to make what is to come happy for Europe, and as he takes the sentiments, expressed in the note, which the undersigned has received of Count Cobentzel, for a good omen. May Austria issue the same declaration which Prussia has made; may she, by acts, confirm that declaration, and reduce her whole force, and the whole artillery, &c. of her army, to the peace establishment; may she no longer keep 72,000 men in Italy; may she order back to their garrisons the regiments assembled to form an army in the Tyrol, and cease the establishing of magazines, and the fortified camps, which announce an approaching war, and nothing will further disturb the peace of the Continent; this peace, so desirable to all parties, since France has nothing to gain by a fresh combat. Austria will gain nothing by it, and the maritime peace will soon follow. When Austria shall have declared, that she remains neutral, and will remain neutral, a peace will be the desire and hope of England; it will be concluded, and the Treaty of Amiens will be restored before the month of January. The Crowns of France and Italy will be separated for ever: Europe, enjoying security and tranquillity, will owe them to the wisdom of Austria, which, by an opposite behaviour, would have precipitated Europe into a situation, which neither the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, nor the Cabinet of Vienna, nor any other, could calculate or foresee.——His Excellency Count Cobentzel will see, that in those communications, which the undersigned has been ordered to make to him, it was impossible for his Majesty to proceed with mors openness, dignity, and sincerity. For the interest of Austria herself, and for the glory of her Sovereign, his Majesty wishes that the Emperor of Germany may avail himself of the opportunity which is offered to him. The fate of his own States, and that of Europe, is now in his hands. In one hand he holds the disturbances and revolutions; in the other, the general peace. An impartial neutrality sufficient for him ao obtain what he desires, and to insure the peace of the world. The most efficacious mediation of peace which Austria can make, consists in the preservation of the most perfect neutrality, in the cessation of armaments, in not obliging France to make a diversion, and in leaving no hope for England of bringing Austria over to her side. —— The undersigned can have no doubt, but his Excellency Count Cobentzel will set a due value upon the subjects discussed in the present note, and contribute, by his influence, to have them considered in that point of view ——He seizes this opportunity to renew to his Excellency Count Cobentzel, the assurance of his highest esteem.

Second Note from M. De Talleyrand, delivered on the 16th of August, 1805.

His Majesty the Emperor had placed the greatest reliance on the pacific and amicable assurances of Austria, as he thought he had a right to depend upon the good disposition of that power, considering the manner in which he behaved towards it after two wars, the entire advantage of which was on the side of France, and in which the greatest part of the Austrian possessions had been conquered by his arms.——Entirely occupied with the war which England has raised, he hoped, since he had given Austria no cause of complaint, that Austria would preserve the strictest and most impartial neutrality; but the movements of troops, and the other hostile dispositions which have taken place in the Hereditary States, and at which Europe is either uneasy or astonished, compel his Majesty the Emperor to demand not only a categorical explanation, but a most speedy one.—The repeated accounts which

the Emperor receives from all quarters, compel him to postpone his projects against England; and thus Austria has done as much as if she had commenced hostilities; for she has made the most powerful diversion in favour of England.——— Austria assembles an army in the Tyrol, whilst France has evacuated all Switzerland. His Excellency Count Cobentzel knows very well, that Austria has nearly 72,000 men in Italy, whilst France has not 50,000 there, 15,000 of whom are on the Gulf of Tarento: and this is the very cause that has principally determined him to suspend his projects. Austria raises camp-fortifications every where, as if a war were already declared, or very near at hand. All the Austrian troops are in motion; all have quitted their garrisons in which they were quartered; all are marching in a direction which announces war; and how, indeed, could his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, assemble so many regiments with a pacific intention, in a country so barren and poor as the Tyrol, where he can only maintain them to the detriment of his finances? Why should he establish magazines? Why should he order the baking of biscuit? Why should he take up so many draught-horses? It is a principle in the public law of Europe, that the assembling of troops, establishing of magazines, baking of biscuit, taking up of draught-horses, are considered by all powers as a declaration of war, especially if such preparations are made on a frontier, which is left unprovided by a power employed elsewhere, at an opposite and very distant frontier. His Majesty, desirous of reconciling those dispositions with the pacific expressions of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, in which he has always placed the strongest confidence, can only reconcile them on the supposition, that this Monarch knows nothing of the wrong that has been done to France; and that the diversion occasioned by his armament is tantamount to actual hostilities. His Majesty is still desirous of persuading himself, that that Monarch really knows nothing of it; but the natural consequences of a similar error are equally detrimental to France as positive hostile intentions, and for this very reason his Majesty's interest requires to be beforehand with them.——It is no longer protestations which can satisfy his Majesty. His Majesty cannot admit any intermediate state betwixt that of war or of peace. If Austria wants peace, every thing in Austria must be restored to the peace establishment. Should Austria desire war, his Majesty will have no other alternative than to throw back upon the aggressor all the evils which he would bring, not only upon the present generation, but also (his Majesty dares to utter it with pride) upon his own States and his own Family; for his Majesty will flatter himself to obtain, in a new war, similar victories as in the preceding; and to secure himself against those diversions which are, as it were, the first step of a coalition in favour of England —The undersigned has, therefore, received orders, on the supposition most agreeable to his Majesty, namely, on the supposition that Austria is desirous of peace, to demand: 1. That the twenty-one regiments, which have been sent to the German and Italian Tyrol, shall be withdrawn, and that those troops only shall remain in both the said provinces, which were there six months ago. 2. That the camp-fortifications be discontinued. The emperor does not require, that Austria shall not erect real fortifications. The right of erecting them belongs to all states, and precaution often makes it the duty of a prince. But as Venice is certainly no fortress, the works carrying on there at present are nothing else than camp-works. 3. That the troops in Stiria, in Carinthia, in Friuli, and in the Venetian territory, be reduced to the numbers at which they stood six months ago. Lastly, That Austria declare to England her firm and unshaken determination to preserve an exact and scrupulous neutrality, without taking a part in the present dispute; because it is the duty of Austria, if she will preserve a system of neutrality, to do nothing, either mediately, or immediately, in favour of England. The undersigned has also received orders to declare to his excellency Count Cobentzel, or rather to repeat the declaration so often made to him, that the dearest wish of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, is the continuance of the peace with the German Emperor; that his Majesty would unwillingly take those steps which he would be obliged to take, by a positive refusal, or even an evasive or dilatory answer, to the demands which the undersigned has been directed to make; but that in a situation like that of Austria, Prince Charles would not hesitate, as that Prince is too good a soldier not to behave in a similar manner; and that if his Majesty is obliged to repel force by force, he will not commit the fault to wait until the Russians have joined the Austrians against him. His Excellency Count Cobentzel knows too well the importance and urgency of the present circumstances, for the undersigned to think it necessary to invite him to hasten, as much as is possible and depends on him, an an-

swer, which his Majesty expects with an impatience that is justified on so many grounds. The undersigned seizes this opportunity, &c.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.—*Note from the French Government, in reply to the Note of M. Novosiltzoff, addressed to the Court of Berlin; as published in the Frankfort Gazette of the 11th September, 1805.*

The note, which is said to have been addressed by M. Novosiltzoff, to the Court of Berlin, has been published in the German Journals. The false assertions which it contains, and the strange pretensions which it manifests, the total want of decorum, which characterises that pretended state paper, do not permit the undersigned to remain silent on its publication. He has received formal orders to communicate to his Excellency M. De ——, the following observations. He does not doubt but that they will be sufficient to rectify the impressions which might have been produced by a paper, which is an offensive and inaccurate exposition of indirect and temporary circumstances, which have lately taken place between Russia and his Majesty. The Emperor and King, has for a long time observed, in silence, the progress of Russia, towards the South of Asia: he saw, with just uneasiness, the danger which threatened Persia and Turkey, two great empires; one of which cannot be overcome without involving the other in inevitable ruin, and the other is the sole barrier between the Continent and Russia. The states of the Grand Seignior are not only threatened, but his cabinet is continually besieged by intriguers, and is every day humbled by new demands, and by arrogant propositions, which are injurious to the dignity of the Prince, and do not leave the ministers the free choice of any measures. His provinces are agitated with new disorders, which the agents of Russia openly foment. Pachas and seditious governors are confirmed in their culpable enterprises, and pride themselves upon their projects of independence, and upon the assistance of Russia. The Greeks, a nation who, till this day, were submissive subjects, are revolting on all sides against the Turks, and their disobedience is not punished. The Russian squadrons pervade the Ottoman Seas, and carry to their coasts, arms, recruiting parties, agents of trouble and insurrection; and, we may well doubt, if there does not now exist in Tartary a greater number of men who are concerting and contriving to destroy that unhappy empire, than the Sovereign could arm and embody, to ensure its preservation. Such is the disastrous state of Turkey.——The Emperor, affected to see himself almost the only Prince on the Continent who very early foresaw the projects which were formed against Turkey, hoped that the imprudent rapidity with which they were developed, would open the eyes of Europe, and he has seen with pleasure, a circumstance which enables his Majesty to bring this interesting subject into discussion, and call the attention of all the cabinets to it. His Majesty the King of Prussia wrote to him to communicate the desire which the Emperor of Russia had expressed, and to send one of his chamberlains when passports were demanded; the Emperor neither received nor asked for an explanation. He knew before-hand, and he expressed his opinion upon that point to the King of Prussia, that no hopes of the tranquillity of the world could be founded upon that negotiation; though, perhaps, a favourable opinion might still be entertained of the personal generosity of the Emperor Alexander, no favourable result could be expected from a discussion in which his moderation had been so perversely overcome by foreign influence, and by the intrigues of those who surround him.——That, in reality, Russia takes no real and sincere part in the interests of the Continent; but, indifferent to the happiness of Europe, her intervention in political storms has ever served only to increase hatred and inflame passion. That at all times, the quarrels of other powers have been to her only the subject of a mere idle speculation, and that now, occupied as she is, with the progressive annihilation of Persia and Turkey, they can only be to her a momentary subject for diversion or perhaps of fantasy. His Majesty, the Emperor, however, ordered that the passports should be sent; and, since then, nothing more has been heard of the Chamberlain of the Emperor of Russia. It must doubtless be regretted, that an opportunity has been lost of making just and severe representations to Russia on her conduct in Asia, on the oppression with which she menaces the Ottoman empire, and on the causes of the alarm which begins to spread every where, at the approach of an event, which threatens to destroy for ever the equilibrium of the South of Europe. It is in this point of view, above all, that his Majesty looked upon the proposed negotiation as an advantageous project, which might tend to the general good, and he is afflicted that the caprice of Russia has, in this respect, disappointed his hopes. In exposing, however, on this head, his real views, he does not think himself obliged to enter into any explanation with respect to

the pretended dispositions that the letter of M. De Novosiltzoff attributes to him. It is simply this, that an irresolute cabinet, to give a colour to an absurd measure, endeavours to impute to France, contradictions in conduct and language, which do not belong to her.——But here the recrimination is only a pretext, and a pretext without truth. Passports solicited and obtained, do not constitute a negotiation. France said nothing. Russia alone made a demonstration, and demanded that one of her agents should be admitted to be heard. If this demand had been coupled with offensive conditions, with clauses which it is astonishing to see in a note purporting to be official, it would have remained unanswered. The character of his Majesty the Emperor is too well established in Europe to have the impossible supposition for a moment believed, that he would have permitted propositions to be made to him, contrary to his dignity, or have listened to such propositions. Nevertheless, to take away all possibility of belief from any such allegation, or that even which the agents of Russia have judged proper to publish, the undersigned has received orders to deny it in the most positive and formal manner.

Letter from Captain Baudin, Member of the Legion of Honour, to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, dated on board La Topaze, in the Tagus, August 20, 1805.

MONSEIGNEUR,——I have the honour to inform you of my return from Martinique, having left that island with the corvettes Les Department des Landes, La Torche, and Le Faune, which Admiral Villaret Joyeuse, Captain-General, ordered to be placed under my command on the 13th of July last.——I have also the honour to inform your excellency, that I have taken, after a very brisk action of about an hour and a quarter, the English frigate Blanche, carrying twenty-six 18-pounders, fourteen carronades, and four nine-pounders. She was commanded by Zachary Mudge, Esq. from Jamaica, bound to Barbadoes.——I got under way from Fort de France on the 16th of July. On the 19th, at eight in the morning, in lat. 20, 22. long. 65. 20. W. from the Meridian of Paris, I saw, at three leagues distance, N.N.W. a large vessel, which I judged to be a frigate, running to the S.S.E. on the larboard tack. I tacked to the N.N.E. the wind at east blowing fresh, the sea rising, and the atmosphere cloudy, I then made no other change in my course; my little squadron kept together, consisting of the brig Le Faune, of 16 guns, six-pounders, commanded by Lieut. Brunet; the corvette La Torche, of eighteen 12-pounders, Lieut. Dehen; the Corvette Le Departement des Landes, of twenty 8-pounders, Lieut. Desmontils, and the frigate La Topaze, of twenty-eight 18-pounders, ten carronades, and six 8-pounders ——At thirty-six minutes past eight the frigate was about two leagues distant, going before the wind. I had Le Departement des Landes on the starboard, Le Faune to the larboard, and La Torche to the larboard of Le Faune.——At forty-five minutes past nine I was on the starboard-quarter of the enemy, and the action continued till 55 minutes past 10, when the English flag was struck, and La Topaze resounded with cries of 'Vive L'Empereur.' ——At this moment Le Departement des Landes was within cannon-shot, La Torche a little to the starboard, Le Faune in observation. Towards the end of the action Le Departement des Landes fired eighteen guns, and La Torche three. The great inferiority of the corvettes prevented them from taking any other part in the business. They at least, however, served to hasten the surrender of the enemy.——[M. Baudin here praises, in high terms, a great number of the persons employed under him.] —— Mr. Mudge was second in command to Captain Vancouver on his voyage on the North-west Coast of America. Far be it from me to say any thing unfavourable of him, but I owe it to truth, and to the glory of the brave men whom I have the honour to command, to assure your excellency that La Topaze singly captured the Blanche; she had 21 men killed in the action; I had only 12 killed. I was obliged to burn the frigate, after taking out the crew.——I have the honour to be, with profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and obedient servant,——F. BAUDIN.

Another letter from M. Baudin, gives an account of his escape into the Tagus, after being chaced by the Agamemnon, of 64 guns, and after losing two of his squadron. He states La Topaze to have had a partial action with the Agamemnon, in which the former had three men wounded. He says also, that he addressed his crew, asking them whether, if they were forced to continue the action, they would board the Agamemnon? And that they all answered in the affirmative. The chace he states to have continued 40 hours.

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